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The Shape of Things

A NEW AVALANCHE OF SUITS, BRINGING THE aggregate of claims to well over $1,000,000,000, has pushed the "portal-to-portal" problem right to the front of the national stage, where it is taking the limelight from both labor-law revision and pending wage negotiations. Employers, facing huge potential liabilities, are almost hysterically demanding that Congress act immediately to rescue them; the unions, while moving to protect the legal rights of their members, are perhaps more than a little awed by the magnitude and complications of the issue and would not be averse to legislation that made possible a quick and fair settlement. In many quarters, the Supreme Court, whose decision in the Mt. Clemens Pottery Company case provided the basis for these multimillion claims, is being criticized for daring to repair a Congressional omission and give a commonsense definition of "working time." It is said that employers stand to be mulcted of enormous sums just because they continued customary practice in measuring working hours. The worth of this complaint must be assessed in the light of an interpretation issued by the Wage and Hour Administration shortly after the Fair Labor Standards Act went into effect. "Compensable time," it declared, was "all time during which an employee is required to be on duty or on the employer's premises or to be at a prescribed work place." But even if the employers' case is weaker than their numerous friends make out, legislation is required, for reasons outlined by Keith Hutchison in these pages last week. What must be avoided is an over-hasty measure which might be declared unconstitutional and so lead to an indefinite continuation of the uncertainties that are bedeviling industrial relations. As a first step, we suggest that the Secretary of Labor call a conference of employers' and workers' organizations with a view to drafting an agreed program for recommendation to Congress.

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HENRY WALLACE'S SPEECH AT THE MERGER convention of the National Citizens' P. A. C. and the Independent Citizens' Committee in New York last week-end set a keynote for the short-range activities of the new organization which has come out of the union—the Progressive Citizens of America. He urged sharper definition of the liberal and conservative positions and insisted on the need for making the issues clear to the whole country. More specifically, he advocated a drive by progressives to prevent the "Republican Congress and the laissez faire big business men from leading us down the highroad of boom, bust, and war," and a simultaneous effort to capture the Democratic Party. The further objectives he outlined were general, indeed rather vague, wrapped up in the slogan "world peace, world prosperity, and world freedom." Whether the new committee can accomplish even his immediate aims and those laid down—also rather broadly—in its own program depends upon the amount of local vitality it can draw upon. It is a good omen that delegates came from all parts of the country and that the spirited discussion at the working sessions revealed plenty of independent thinking and little partisan control. The desire of the delegates to build the organization on a regional basis and from the ground up was expressed over and over. If this spirit can dominate the activities of the Progressive Citizens, the merger will be an important move toward drawing together the shattered left in America. If it lapses into a campaign and lobbying committee run from headquarters in New York, the merger will mean little. We should feel more optimistic on this point if the two national chairmen, Frank Kingdon and Jo Davidson, were not both New Yorkers.

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SPEAKING OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY which the Council of Foreign Ministers will try to draft when they meet in Moscow on March 10, Foreign Secretary Bevin said in a radio speech on his return from New York: "We must avoid the creation of a cesspool of cheap and half-starved labor in Middle Europe. At the same time we must insure that Germany can never again be a menace to the Allies." These two generalizations are broad enough to permit agreement among the Big Four, but their translation into practical detail is likely to be a formidable task. One problem is created by the fact that, since the end of the war, each of the four occupying powers has been building foundations for the new Germany in its own zone with little attention to what was being done in the others. We have had a good

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many accounts and criticisms of such activities in the western sectors, but in regard to the Russian zone rumor has too often taken the place of fact, thanks partly, though not entirely, to Russian discouragement of newspapermen. In an attempt to obtain a more complete picture, *The Nation* sent its Central European correspondent, Joel Carmichael, to eastern Germany last fall. The first of his reports, which we believe make a valuable contribution to an understanding of the issues likely to develop in Moscow, appears on page 9 of this issue.

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IN ROME, ONE ANTI-CLERICAL WEEKLY HAS been suppressed without court action; Ruggero Maccari, editor of another, has been convicted of "offending the religion of the state" and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Since Roman Catholicism is the religion of the state only by virtue of the Concordat negotiated by Mussolini with the Vatican in 1929, this seems rather a queer charge for a democratic Italian government to bring forward; it tends to prejudge the question of relations between church and state in Italy, which presumably is to be settled by the new constitution now under discussion in the Constituent Assembly. Feeling, possibly, that this was rather dubious ground on which to proceed, the government prosecutor made much of the alleged obscenity of the cartoons which have appeared in Maccari's and other anti-clerical magazines. That, of course, is a familiar accusation against critics of the church, and since we have not seen any of the cartoons in question, we cannot say how far it is justified. It is hardly borne out by descriptions of several that have appeared in the American press. One cartoon which figured in the Maccari trial showed a priest wringing the neck of a chicken representing Italy—a bitter political comment, perhaps, but legitimate enough in view of the Vatican's strenuous intervention in Italian elections. Another depicts a licentious friar—a subject which has always attracted satirists because of the not infrequent gap between priestly pretensions and priestly performance. If criticism of this kind is to be banned, the Italian government will have to suppress a large number of Italian classics beginning with Boccaccio.

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THERE IS SOMETHING RATHER PATHETIC about a teapot tempest recently brewed by another defender of another faith. Speaking for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Dr. Walter Van Kirk took to the air to lambast Eleanor Roosevelt for her syndicated remarks about Germany's Martin Niemöller. "One may applaud his bravery," Mrs. Roosevelt had written of the Lutheran pastor who is now touring the United States and lecturing under the Council's aegis, "but one can hardly applaud his attitude on Nazi politics, and I cannot quite see why we should be asked to listen

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to his lectures." This, we believe, is a graceful understatement, Dr. Van Kirk's splenetic protest notwithstanding. The facts about Martin Niemöller are involved and contradictory, but they throw an extremely mottled luster upon the good pastor. Niemöller joined the Nazi Party in 1926; his later recantation was due chiefly, it would seem, to a sort of falling-out among evangelists. In the early thirties, his pastorate provided a genuine refuge for many of the hunted, and he spoke out against Nazi interference with religion until the regime clapped him into a concentration camp. He survived eight years of imprisonment only to announce publicly, after his release, that he had agreed with the Nazis in everything except their ungodliness, that he had opposed the Weimar Republic, and that his prescription for post-war Germany was an authoritarian government. This is the man who is now telling American audiences, "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus," and, as Mrs. Roosevelt has so gently indicated, we think his right to impart that information may be questioned.

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THE POMPOUS BLUFF, THE GENIAL FRAUD, has been a classic and endearing figure since the tongue was first discovered as a weapon for petty larceny. Nowhere has the type been more appreciated than in the United States, where thousands of glib and brassy pitchmen have sold everything from the secrets of Masonry to Kickapoo Indian Snake Oil, absolutely guaranteed to cure the itch, remove gravy stains, and grow hair on an egg. It was the finest flowering of this pitchman's art, the essence of droll swindling, that was at the core of the performances of W. C. Fields and that made them unique and memorable. His billiard and golf routines and his highly perfected slapstick were enormously funny, but we feel he will not be remembered for these, or for his juggling, or even for the alcoholic voice with which he would wrathfully demand, "What contemptible scoundrel stole the cork from my lunch?" or tell his harrowing tale about traveling for three days and nights on nothing but food and water. We rather think he will live in the memory of the generation fortunate enough to see him for the artistry with which he played the childishly transparent swindler, for the way he would touch finger-tips, purse his mouth into a sickly sweet smile, and mumble pious nothings like "Ah, indeed, how true of all of us"—while carefully conning his audience for a likely shill. His was a raffish life, from the time he left home at the age of eleven after a bitter tiff with his father, through years of privation and petty pilfering, to the days when he could afford his dream house, with a magnificent pool table in the living room and portable bars equipped with quart-jars of ready-made double martinis. Like Dickens, whom he greatly admired, he embodied much of his private life in his art, and it was this that gave his work the touch of authentic genius.

The Eightieth Congress

THE frustrations of victory, as well as its fruits, are about to be gathered in by the Republicans. For fourteen years their leaders have orated on the wickedness of the Roosevelt heresies, the ineptness of long-haired bureaucrats, and the return to the American Way that would set in when the country should at last have "had enough" and voted Republican. But now that the great moment has come, the Republican Congress meets not in the spirit of crusaders arrived in the Holy Land and lusting for battle, but rather in that of reluctant warriors, suddenly grown prudent and only slightly more zealous for battle than the Good Soldier Schweik.

At this writing, it appears that the "middle way" will be the way of the Eightieth Congress. Senator Taft's insistence on having the chairmanship of the Labor Committee is reasonably interpreted as a reflection of this policy in the field of labor legislation. No one doubts that there will be curbs on labor, as there would be even if the Democrats had won; but they are not likely to be the crippling blows at trade unionism publicly dreamed of by Republican spokesmen when they were in the political wilderness. Taft himself is on record against barring the closed shop and against curbs on industry-wide bargaining, two of the most serious dangers to labor's position.

It was widely assumed that the Republicans would make short work of the President's emergency war-time powers, but here too the sentiment has shifted in favor of a go-slow policy, with Republicans who favored a big military establishment particularly fearful of putting an end to the present procurement powers of the armed services. This same big-army sentiment promises to be a brake on the party's budget-slashing program. And Representative Knutson's inequitable and inflationary plan to lower income taxes by 20 per cent already appears doomed. Even if he should succeed in jamming this across-the-board reduction through the House, G. O. P. leaders have already promised it a pigeonhole in the Senate, where feeling for a balanced budget is even stronger than a politician's natural desire to take credit for a tax cut.

Senator Vandenberg's *Wanderjahr* as Republican adviser to the Secretary of State is generally regarded as assurance against any drastic change in foreign policy. But here—as, in fact, throughout the Republican program—there are dangers beneath the surface. The Taft weight, moderate as it may be on the domestic side, is sure to be cast with those who keep their internationalism on a strictly lip-service level. It was Taft who led the fight against Bretton Woods and the British loan, and it was Taft who objected to the hanging of Göring and Company at Nürnberg. Even more serious, Taft opposed

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the reciprocal-trade program. With Southern farmers now abandoning their historical support of free trade, any extension of the reciprocal system and any further lowering of tariffs will find the going rough. Yet the hopes of a democratic world rest on freer and freer trade and on getting some of this country's surplus cash into circulation abroad.

At the root of the Republicans' inhibitions with regard to the scrapping of New Deal legislation, so far a cry from the blood and thunder of their minority days, are three clearly defined factors. The first, most creditable and probably least influential, is the conviction in intelligent conservative circles that unless the Republicans display some measure of social responsibility or reasonable facsimile thereof, this may be the last fling for the free-enterprise system. It was not *The Nation* but *Barron's*, the business weekly, that recently warned Republican leaders thus:

> Unless they provide good government and leadership of sufficiently high quality to command the confidence of the people in the long run, we are seeing today merely the start of a sort of Indian summer of capitalism. In that case, the next depression will bring on a far more extreme swing to the left than the New Deal ever was. . . .

On a lower level of prudence, the Republican leaders are not allowing themselves to forget for a second the elections of 1948. They know that they did get some of the labor vote in the big industrial centers last November, and they are not disposed to throw it away for the sake of pleasing the more extreme anti-unionists in industry, who will vote Republican in any case. Nor are they forgetting that, however the Presidential vote may go, the possibility of a political reverse in the Senate is far too real for comfort. Of the thirty-two Senators up for reelection in 1948, eighteen are Republicans and fourteen are Democrats. But ten of those Democrats are Southerners, sure to be returned, while only six of the eighteen Republicans come from states that are anything like as safe for the G. O. P. The Democrats need only four out of twelve doubtful Republican seats to win back the Senate.

Finally, the coming of victory has precipitated a struggle for power within the Republican ranks. And this too will act as a check on extremist legislation. We have already discussed in these pages the feuds within the party, and it is perhaps enough now to say that they have been intensified in the past week. Governor Dewey's open intervention in behalf of Charles Halleck for floor leader has forced a defensive truce between Bricker and Taft, but widened the cleavage between the Ohioans and Dewey. The resentment of the Westerners over the maldistribution of party plums has been crystallized by Hoffman of Michigan in an attack on his Eastern colleagues as vitriolic as any of his old-time onslaughts on the New Deal.

These internal conflicts and long-range fears may well make for moderation, as we believe they will, but moderation is not a program. It will not build houses for veterans, head off inflation, ease race relations, or otherwise improve the state of the nation. Such objectives call for constructive imagination and boldness, and of these long-hair attributes the leaders of the Eightieth Congress have yet to betray even a faint suggestion.

The Future of Empire

ACCORDING to the gloomy and embittered Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister Attlee's declaration that Burma is to be given the right of secession from the empire on the same terms as India has shorn from the Crown one more of Britain's proud possessions. M. Blum, even while employing force against the rebellious nationalists of Indo-China, has declared for the eventual independence of that colony. The Dutch Cabinet is at present seeking to transform the entire empire into a federal union, to the disgust of Dutch reactionaries. Throughout the Far East, once subject peoples are in open rebellion or have mustered such force that the West has been compelled to yield. Whether the present struggle will end in the total severance of relations between the colonial powers and their Eastern possessions or in a new style of association clearly depends upon the wisdom of the West. Military strength has ceased to be the decisive factor.

No longer do the imperial countries possess their unanimous belief in empire. It is not merely that their peoples are weary of war. The British government, struggling to transform an impoverished economy, neither is able nor desires to afford so great a diversion of man-power as would be necessary for a desperate effort to reimpose the old colonial controls. In France, the M. R. P. is the only major party that might discover in itself a sustained will to repression. Yet it knows that a prolongation of the crisis must surely strengthen the two left-wing parties, both of which, in varying degrees, are opposed to a continuance of the old system.

But while it is apparent that the rise of the left has weakened imperialism, it must also be admitted that nowhere has there been a total abandonment of old motives and techniques. The very ability of the Dutch to negotiate with the Indonesian nationalists was conferred upon them by a British army, which broke the first wave of insurrection and gave the Netherlands time to muster and transport its forces. But for that intervention the liberation movement would be far stronger today, for it would have promptly spread outward from its Java stronghold to all parts of the empire. And while the

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Dutch have negotiated an agreement with the nationalist party in Java and Sumatra, they have declared it illegal in other territories.

The same reluctance can be seen elsewhere. The Burmese crisis provoked by the June strikes was only solved by the entry into the interim regime of the powerful but moderate Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League. That party is now critical of Mr. Attlee's proposal. Its withdrawal would put an end to British control in Burma, and London is well aware of the fact. The case is different in British Malaya, where racial divisions and the existence of native sultanates have checked the growth of a militant nationalist movement. Mr. Churchill's solution, embodied in the MacMichael agreements of 1945, was to compel the nine Malayan sultans to surrender their sovereignty to the British crown and so create islands of conservative resistance, as in India. That arrangement provoked so much resentment that it had to be abandoned. Nevertheless, the present plan again puts the native rulers under the control of Britain and confers upon the high commissioner the powers of veto and government by decree. Left-wing opposition in Malaya is daily growing in strength.

Open war rages in Indo-China, and the responsibility undoubtedly falls upon the French government, which has been unreasonably slow in carrying out the promises contained in the preamble to the new constitution. The situation in that Far Eastern colony is complex and obscure. The Viet Nam Party may have been unwise to demand the inclusion of southern Indo-China in one republic with the north. Yet the fear that Saigon, where something like a puppet regime has been installed, may serve as a military base for a counter-offensive is natural and justified. Nor is Viet Nam wrong in declaring that the summer conferences in Paris resulted in little more than unsatisfactory and conditional agreements. The present wave of insurrection will probably be broken, after which the Dutch pattern may be followed. Yet, in the brief run, Paris must surely yield.

If the Socialist movements of Europe fail to live up to their doctrines on colonial policy the result must be final defeat and, in all probability, total chaos in the Far East. It is a result which the more responsible leaders in the nationalist movements themselves wish to avoid. In India, the Socialist Nehru has declared that a free India would establish cooperative relations with Britain. The moderate U Aung San of Burma and the pro-Communist Ho Chi Minh of Indo-China have made similar statements, the reason for which is obvious. These leaders are not merely advocates of liberty. They are progressive men who wish to raise the living standards of their people and who know that this can only be done by maintaining trade with the West and drawing upon Western technical ability. At the same time, the European powers will suffer far less from the liquidation of their empires if they make possible close relations, based upon liberty freely conceded, with their now rebellious dependencies.

That defines the real problem, upon the solution of which the future of a Socialist Europe in part depends. The East has thrown down its challenge not merely to the military might of the imperialist countries but to the vision and sincerity of the new political forces in Europe. The transformation of the Far Eastern scene offers a superb economic opportunity to the impoverished Western powers, all of which need the stimulus of expanding markets. By ridding themselves of the military burdens imposed by the maintenance of empires the Western peoples will be enabled to devote their resources to the real task confronting them—rebuilding their shattered economies after a new and better model.

What's Ahead for Labor?

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, December 29

A LAWYER for the National Association of Manufacturers was having a note-comparing lunch with a lawyer for the National Labor Relations Board. They got around, naturally, to labor and what the Eightieth Congress ought to do about it, starting this week, and the N. A. M. man said he had been putting a lot of thought and desk work on the subject.

One thing on his drafting board, the N. A. M. man said, was a law breaking up big-union monopoly and localizing labor-management misunderstandings. Any strike would be limited legally to a single union unit at the spot where the controversy developed; a national union would be forbidden to bring in help or to spread the walkout through other sectors of the affected industry. The NLRB man asked if that would work both ways—so the struck plant couldn't bring in strike-breakers or get other industrial aid in its time of trouble. The N. A. M. man said the point might be an interesting one, but that he hadn't got around to it yet.

The heady Republican climate down here induces such planning for domestic peace and tranquillity. Organized labor is in for it; almost anything can happen on Capitol Hill, with the repressive tenets of a revived Case bill as a moderate starter.

The N. A. M. is applauded by the press for its temperate, statesman-like, and liberal convention conduct in resolutely refusing to demand outright revocation of the Wagner act. Senator Robert A. Taft, who seems to think

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most labor leaders have crypts reserved for them in the Kremlin wall, is characterized in the editorials as the sane and sober new chairman of the strategic Senate Education and Labor Committee. Wasn't he the friend of labor who last spring turned back President Truman's plan to conscript railroad strikers?

Mr. Truman himself, in his state-of-the-union message to Congress scheduled for January 6, is expected this time to give the labor question a once-over-lightly treatment and not ask for legislative specifics. He probably will suggest, however, that the government could use broader control—compulsory arbitration, say—in public-utility disputes which are damaging to the national interest. With the advice of his Cabinet the President has figured that it would be somewhat presumptuous of a Democratic Administration to try to tell a Republican Congress what to do, and that the Congress will do what it wants to anyway.

Labor itself has been curiously inert in the face of the impending onslaughts from the Hill. It has grown to take the National Labor Relations Act as a matter of course, forgetting the good old Republican years when a collective-bargaining right was something to be won with a ball bat at a picket barricade. Leaders of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. can turn out a fighting speech at the drop of a gavel or the click of a mimeograph machine, crying that hard-won gains must be held. But now is a time for earnest study and close-in lobbying.

Within labor only big, loud, aggressive Charles J. MacGowan, white-shocked president of the A. F. of L.'s big, loud, aggressive International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, has put the point publicly. His warning, a solo which did not even evoke echoes from other A. F. of L. and C. I. O. sections, was: Look, boys, we're going to get some labor legislation from the new Congress whether we like it or not. Wouldn't we be smart to do some work ourselves on legislation now, so that we will have a better chance of liking what we get?

"Let us not only express the hope but make a contribution to a thorough study of the whole industrial problem to see if it is not possible to pass legislation which will make strikes unnecessary except in very rare instances," MacGowan, who is a Republican card-carrier, wrote in the December issue of the *Boilermakers' Journal*. He deplored what he called the labor custom of "standing in the middle of the road and shouting no to all attempts on the part of even sensible people to bring about the creation of permanent and capable legislation for the adjustment of labor controversies."

Until MacGowan spoke out, no important labor figure had expressed any public interest in reviewing the lawbooks to devise measures which might be acceptable to the G. O. P. and at the same time save the Wagner act from rape—which otherwise seems as sure as the Republican invasion on January 3. President William Green proposed to call an A. F. of L. legislative conference some time later in January, after Congress goes to work on labor. A. F. of L. Legislative Representative Lewis G. Hines, a rasp-voiced Republican, wasn't drafting any suggestions for the lawmakers; he thought A. F. of L. General Counsel Joseph A. Padway might be. Padway, preoccupied with his coming defense of Lewis in the Supreme Court, said he had no ideas; that was Hines's department. The C. I. O. from Murray down was devoting its attention to wages; perhaps the National Lawyers' Guild could do something about laws.

Around the Senate Labor Committee it was figured that these would be among the minimum proposals enacted, probably with Administration support:

1. Establishment of emergency boards and arbitration procedures to handle national industrial crises in utilities —a broad category which is likely to be stretched to cover not only transportation and power but steel, coal, and communications.

2. Revision of the Wagner act to permit employers to petition for collective-bargaining elections challenging already-won representation claims by unions—a device which could keep unions in a continuing rat race.

3. Elimination of secondary boycotts by which an A. F. of L. union refuses to handle products of a C. I. O. shop, and vice versa—an indefensible practice which neither organization has really tried to stop.

4. Amendment of the Wage-Hour Act to settle the portal-to-portal pay issue—in which claims for more than a billion dollars in back overtime wages have already been filed joyously in the courts by unions.

If these four points—and no more—are put over by Congress, labor will be getting off lucky. More almost certainly will be put over: the N. A. M.'s liberalized labor program for 1947 makes the following demands:

1. Abolish industry-wide bargaining and "joint wage action" affecting more than one employer. This would rip apart the structure of A. F. of L. craft unionism as well as the C. I. O. structure of industrial unionism.

2. Ban strikes in any collective-bargaining area not directly involving "wages, hours, and working conditions." This would cover a nearly limitless area of "sympathy" walkouts and of any "feather-bedding or other work-restrictive demands."

3. Protect strike-breakers from mass picketing "and any other form of coercion or intimidation."

4. Emasculate "union-security" provisions of closed-shop contracts.

There will be earnest but lonely voices raised on the Hill by such labor students as Senator James E. Murray of Montana, outgoing Democratic chairman of the Senate committee, and Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Republican, warning Congress that extreme measures for the imposition of industrial peace may mean incitement to industrial warfare instead. The President prob-

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ably can be counted on to veto any outrageous repression. The Supreme Court may have some sobering words for all hands in the Lewis injunction case. Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach and Conciliation Director Edgar L. Warren will continue, somewhat wistfully, to promote their labor-management area-conference formula for peace and good-will.

But the rampant Republican lawmakers are in a mood for making new labor laws, veto or no veto, and they'll be made. When they get going, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. may find out tardily that boilermaker MacGowan had a sensible pre-session idea. By that time it may be too late for Bill Green or Phil Murray to do much more than scream at what Congress is doing to them.

Chicago Dumps Kelly

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chicago, December 26

THE Old Guard in Chicago, the once invincible Kelly machine, has defied the adage and surrendered. It did so when it indorsed for the Democratic nomination for mayor an independent business man and civic leader, Martin H. Kennelly, who as a director of the Chicago Crime Commission has long been an active enemy of the Kelly administration.

Caricature by Seligson

Mayor Kelly

The machine surrendered to an aroused public opinion led by the crusading Chicago *Sun* and the independent *Daily News*. But by indorsing Kennelly it was able to upset the well-laid plans of Governor Dwight Green and Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, the leaders of the Republican Party hereabouts. In consequence Chicago, for the first time in half a century, is likely to elect as its next mayor—on April 10—a vigorous fighter against the corruption which has been associated with the city's politics.

Mr. Kennelly is president of Werner Brothers–Kennelly Company, a warehouse organization, and of Allied Vans, and is a director of Wilson and Company, the meat packers. He has never been identified with liberal causes, but liberals and independents have rallied to his support, considering his election a necessary first step in ridding Chicago of machine government and the crime that has flourished under it. They look to him to provide an administration that will tackle constructively Chicago's vast civic problems—housing, transportation, clean streets, and many others. Kennelly, they hope, may do for Chicago what the late James Couzens did for Detroit.

Readers of *The Nation* may recall an article I wrote for it last spring called The Twilight of Boss Kelly. In that article I described the difficulties in which the Kelly machine was floundering—the exposure of its mishandling of the Chicago public schools and the increasing wrath of Chicagoans over its apparent inability to perform efficiently.

The summer passed, and in the election campaign the Kelly machine was attacked with some energy by the Republicans. On November 5 it lost some but not all Cook County offices, holding its own in the city of Chicago. The Republican leaders, however—Messrs. Green and McCormick—surveyed the results and decided that the machine, which had really only been cracked, had been smashed. Before the official vote in the November 5 elections had been proclaimed, they announced their candidate for mayor, an obscure politician, Russell W. Root, who had served as county chairman during the campaign. The Republican City Committee immediately and obediently ratified the selection. Root, a forty-nine-year-old lawyer of little distinction, is assistant state treasurer. He was chosen, patently, because the leaders believed that a G. O. P. trend had started and that Kelly would be a push-over for anyone.

Green and McCormick undoubtedly foresaw a city administration that would go along with their plans for 1948. Had they disregarded 1948 and, concentrating upon Chicago and its needs, picked a Republican of the caliber of Kennelly, I believe that they could have looked forward to taking over the city on April 1. But they didn't. Instead, by their gross political opportunism they made a new era possible for Chicago.

The Democrats, bewildered by the November 5 results, took no immediate action but decided to follow a policy of watchful waiting, since it was not necessary for candidates to file for the February primary until early in January. While they were waiting, Chicago's independents got busy. The Chicago *Sun*, branding Root a stooge for aspiring politicians, urged that some Republican of stature enter the primary against him. The *Daily*

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News, noted for its political independence, took a similar position. But the Republican high command was unable to give up its dream of conquest. Root remained in the race, and Mayor Kelly, although nearing seventy-one, began to bestir himself. It looked as if Chicagoans would have to choose between Root, the creature of Green and McCormick, and Kelly, the machine boss.

The machine Democrats now appointed a committee on candidates which promptly indorsed Mayor Kelly for reelection and then offered him full support. The Mayor, in somewhat ambiguous terms, spoke of his wish to retire and said the boys should go back and reconsider. The boys—with few exceptions his faithful henchmen over the years—did. It is at this point that the political experts begin to differ. Some contend that Kelly was all along intent on retirement and planning to substitute some faithful retainer. Others are convinced that he was setting the stage to be drafted.

Whatever his real attitude, the Chicago *Sun* came out with a blistering page-one editorial saying bluntly, "Kelly Won't Do." It followed up this attack several days later with a long, documented denunciation of the Mayor's record, reciting his sins of omission and commission, and declaring plainly that if Chicago had to choose between Root and Kelly, the *Sun* would unhesitatingly back an independent in the mayoralty contest. The *Daily News* took a similar position. The Independent Voters of Illinois, a small but active group, announced that it would advise its followers to remain out of the primary contests so as to be eligible to sign petitions for an independent.

Democratic leaders were now confronted with the fact that the only editorial support Kelly, or a Kelly henchman, would get would be from the afternoon tabloid, the Chicago *Times.* The *Sun* (morning) and the *News* (evening) would be lost to them. The *Tribune* (morning) had already come out for Root, and the fifth newspaper, Hearst's *Herald-American* (evening), was an unknown factor.

Nevertheless, the machine leaders, after talking with the other ward committeemen, determined to offer the indorsement to Kelly again. Assembling at the City Hall to hear his decision, they were handed an 800-word statement in which the Mayor didn't say yes and didn't say no. More private conferences were held. William J. Tuohy, state's attorney for Cook County, whose two-year regime has been marked by utter indifference to the machine's throttle-hold upon the public schools and a willingness to let sleeping dogs lie, was tentatively suggested as the Kelly successor.

At once came blasts from the *Sun* and the *Daily News:* "Tuohy Won't Do." The two newspapers mentioned as alternative choices such independents as Major Paul Douglas, University of Chicago economist and Marine Corps hero, Martin Kennelly, and several other Democrats known to be independent of the machine.

The ward committeemen were again interviewed by the machine leaders. And here another factor must be taken into account. Jacob M. Arvey, a lawyer and long the leader of the Twenty-fourth Ward, the most "deliverable" of all the wards, had been named chairman of the City Committee on his return from the Pacific war. Jack, as he's generally known, has become a political enigma. Always an organization man, he had grown wealthy long before the war. Above draft age, he had gone to war because he felt so strongly about the principles at stake. When he returned after five years of service, he told many persons he had a new view on life, and wished to use whatever political skills he had for a new day in Chicago.

Most people accepted the new Arvey with a grain of salt, recalling his long service to the organization and his unusual ability as a machine leader. Today various persons who are fully informed about the maneuvering that went on before Kelly and Tuohy were downed and Kennelly put up, give full credit to Arvey. Whatever his motives, Arvey told the nominating committee after Kelly and Tuohy had both been blasted out of the running that Kennelly must be named. And Kennelly, after some persuasive talk by Mr. Arvey, was.

In accepting the indorsement Kennelly maintained his independence of the machine, said he was aware, and wanted the committeemen to be aware, that many of his ideas did not coincide with theirs, and recalled the three occasions on which he had participated in political contests in behalf of candidates opposed by the machine. His stature in Chicago is such that few other than Republican partisans are concerned about his acceptance of machine support. He has also the support of avowed machine foes, such as the *Sun* and the *News,* and of many well-known liberals, including Major Douglas. So far the Communists are practically alone in questioning his selection. The Democratic organization, afflicted with defeatism after the November reverses, has indicated an intention to go down the line.

These rapid developments put Republican organization leaders in a quandary. Reports that Root would be withdrawn and the G. O. P. equivalent of Kennelly substituted circulated widely. Influential party leaders are understood to have offered support to several such Republicans, who refused to enter a contest against Kennelly. Had they been approached when Kelly or Tuohy appeared to be the likely Democratic nominee, they might have consented.

The machine, by surrendering, had taken out of the campaign the one big issue on which Republicans counted to win the victory—the machine. Simultaneously James B. McCahey, stormy petrel of the School Board, announced his resignation, effective with the ending of Mayor Kelly's term. So that issue, too, which would

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have favored the Republicans, has been snatched from them.

Root, flanked by a number of Governor Green's associates and advisers, recently held a press conference and announced he was in the race to stay.

Most political observers concede Kennelly an easy victory; they believe that Root was left in the race on the theory he might as well be the sacrifice. If that is the outcome, Colonel McCormick will have demonstrated that in his new role as boss, with Governor Green, of the Illinois Republican Party he is hardly a sensational success.

So far, the *Tribune*, taken off its editorial feet by the Kennelly candidacy, has remained mute, reporting only the day-to-day developments in its news columns. It has made no attacks upon Kennelly, and it has given Chicago one of the best jokes of the year. In printing the story of Kennelly's indorsement by the organization, the *Tribune* allowed its writer to admit that Tuohy had been removed from consideration by editorial attacks "in two newspapers."

Will Russia Stay in Germany?

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

Paris, December 15

THE obscurity which has veiled the Soviet zone of Germany for so long has lately begun to be lifted. But our view of what is happening there has been distorted by the tendentiousness which marks the relations of the great powers. The American press in particular has used the meager data obtained as material for speculations about the aims of Soviet policy. Depressed, or exhilarated, by the relative industrial stagnation of western Germany, observers have been greatly struck by the undeniable resumption of economic activity in the Soviet zone: this has led to inflated quantitative estimates on the one hand and rather misleading political conclusions on the other.

One of the principal difficulties in determining the *trend* of the Soviet occupation arises from uncertainty about the proper perspective to apply. How long an occupation, that is to say, are the Russians planning for? Some light can be thrown on this question by a brief consideration of their removal of German capital equipment, about which so much has been said in Germany and abroad.

It is obvious that the amount of dismantling and transporting of factories carried out by the Russians will depend on the actual time they intend to remain in Germany. The waste of the operation, after all, is enormous —it is estimated at from 50 to 80 per cent. And in addition the removals place a tremendous strain on a transportation system already inadequate and partially crippled by war-time destruction. Furthermore, the Russians, still suffering from their chronic shortage of technical personnel, can scarcely expect German technicians to produce efficiently in Russia under the conditions of virtual imprisonment in which they would have to work, since it would be inexpedient for the Soviet regime to allow them to participate in the privileges of its own technical caste.

The dismantling program, therefore, can be understood only in reference to the political situation; it would be senseless for the Russians to incur the immense losses inevitable in wholesale removals if they were certain of retaining control of the area for a long time. They must have first applied the policy when they had no idea how long they would stay in Germany and in consequence took, very sensibly, the attitude of the dog in the manger: even if they lost most of the value of the transported machinery, the Germans were not going to have it—or the Western powers either.

But the Russians must have changed their minds a number of times. When they first advanced into Germany in 1944, their impulse seems to have been to seize every machine they could lay their hands on and cart it off. Officially, however, this policy was terminated on May 1, 1946, and there is no doubt that the great wave of removals, at any rate, has subsided. Some industrial plants have even been brought back and are producing for reparations; in these cases, no doubt, the bottlenecks encountered in Russia proved too staggering. However, a new outbreak of dismantling and removal began during the last week in October, and was generally linked with the disastrous defeat in the Berlin elections of the Soviet-sponsored Unity Party. It seems to me that the spasmodic handling of this question indicates abrupt fluctuations of official opinion and the absence of a long-range, carefully worked-out plan. At the same time there is a great deal of evidence, which I shall present later, supporting the

JOEL CARMICHAEL, Nation *correspondent for Central Europe, served during the war with the O. S. S. and the United States Navy. At the end of the war he was assigned to Army Intelligence in Berlin. This is the first in a series of articles on the Russian zone of Germany, from which Mr. Carmichael has just returned. Speaking both German and Russian fluently, he had access to information not usually open to American correspondents.*

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theory that the Russians now intend a lengthy and increasingly intrenched occupation.

GERMANY PRODUCES, RUSSIA CONSUMES

The purely physical effects of Russian occupation seem fairly clear. About half the total industrial capacity of the zone has been transferred to Russia, but what is left of its resources in labor and capital is being thoroughly exploited; nothing is going to waste. This accounts of course for the somewhat naively enthusiastic reports of foreign correspondents who have been taken on conducted tours. Employment is "full," in contrast to the situation in the western zones; there is even a certain shortage of labor, with extensive employment of women. The lack of raw materials has not had the paralyzing effect on production experienced in the west: coal is imported from Poland, partly in exchange for German potash, and various other raw materials, chiefly leather, wool, and cotton, are sent in by the Russians. Of German raw materials more than two-thirds is allocated to the manufacture of goods for reparations; a large portion of what remains is appropriated by the occupation forces.

It is generally admitted that between 70 and 80 per cent of all current production is sent directly to Russia; the Russians explain, quite plausibly, that part of this is taken as reparations and part as payment for the raw materials they contributed. Of the 20 per cent allocated to the Germans, the great bulk must go into the black market immediately, since very little is seen in normal channels. Some of it has been taken back again by the Russians. According to some estimates not more than one-twentieth of the goods produced actually stays in the zone for local German consumption or for barter with other zones or foreign countries.

The failure of the Soviet authorities to keep accounts of goods actually delivered to them, or at any rate to publish such accounts, has bewildered the Germans and caused frequent displays of temper in the Allied Control Council. The Germans have no notion how much they have already paid or how long it may be necessary for them to go on paying. Nor will they be in any position to contest the evaluation eventually made by the Russians.

With respect to food, though the Red Army still lives off the country, farm produce is not overtly transported to Russia. The Red Army simply has a priority on whatever is available, and since the zone as a whole is an area of food surplus—while the British and American zones are harassed by a shortage—this does not arouse too much dissatisfaction.

SOVIET GRIP ON INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The closely knit control of industry in the Russian zone, while similar to the state planning in the Soviet Union, has had exclusively short-term objectives. After production was resumed by the Russians, all establishments employing more than ten workers were registered and instructed to draw up lists of what goods they might expect to produce in 1946 and what their requirements in raw materials would be. The facts thus obtained were then combined into a general plan by the central administration for industry. But there was no element of "reconstruction" in the plan. Its purpose was simply to exploit the available resources as efficiently as possible; it was not a project for production as in the Soviet Union but a schedule of the capacity to produce.

The economic administration of the zone is planned and directed by a central agency in Berlin, at the head of which is a German secretary of state closely supervised by the Russians. Provincial offices carry out the directives of this central administration, which is in turn under the control of the Soviet military headquarters in Karlshorst. Direct control is exercised by Moscow over factories producing for the Red Army in Russia and Germany; these are run under the supervision of joint boards of army officers and Soviet officials. Karlshorst control extends to factories taken over by individual *Länder* and provinces and now regarded as German state property. Theoretically they are supposed to have belonged to former Nazis, but the law legalizing their confiscation was framed loosely enough to apply to practically any factory. War potential, for instance, is held to cover any goods manufactured for the Wehrmacht, however innocuous.

Most key industries except food processing are to be controlled by the newly formed Soviet Industrial Corporation, which has taken over the factories the Russians once earmarked for dismantling and transfer and then decided to keep in operation on German soil. These factories have become Soviet property, and since they are expected to be shipped eventually to the Soviet Union, the corporation is regarded as an interim measure. It is the holding company for the factories under its control, and operates through a number of joint German-Russian industrial associations, each of which has charge of one industry. Textiles, chemicals, engineering, solid and liquid fuels, and public utilities are known to come within the scope of these associations.

To boil the matter down, the Soviet Industrial Corporation is a vital element in a series of widespread interlocking cartels. Although Russian plans for it are supposed to be still rather unsettled, with some divergence of opinion between Karlshorst and Moscow, there can be no doubt that the Russians have established in their zone a complex of quasi-nationalized industries which has every prospect of remaining a permanent feature of the emerging economic structure.

Among the banks confiscated by the Russians after their entry into Germany was the Garantie- und Kreditbank of Berlin, all the funds of which had been in the possession of the Russian Foreign Trade Bank. Last September this bank was reactivated with a capital of

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150,000,000 Reichsmarks, and it is now controlled by three Russian directors aided by a German chief clerk. It is supposed to handle the comprehensive trade engendered by the Russian state corporations set up in the Soviet zone under the terms of Law No. 124. In addition, interzonal trade, now extremely complicated, is to be revived and simplified, and at some time in the future the bank is to act as a clearing-house for all foreign exchange.

Since the principal industrial installations in the Soviet zone are to be administered by these state corporations, and since, further, this great complex of industrial enterprises is to be consolidated for all interzonal and foreign commerce under the direction of a bank controlled by the Russian Foreign Trade Bank, it seems clear that all interzonal trade within Germany and all trade between foreign countries and the Soviet zone will become *part of the foreign trade of the Soviet Union.* It would be difficult to overestimate the eventual importance of this administrative-economic device. Superimposed on the major enterprises of the zone, it may easily serve to integrate the zone into the whole nationalized economy established since the war in the border areas of the Soviet Union, if not into that of the Soviet Union itself.

We now have a picture of how Russian economic planning, spurred by an insatiable demand for goods of all kinds and undisturbed by any anxiety about future competition—compare the British reluctance to reestablish German automobile production because of the competition it might offer to domestic makes—has enabled the Russians to turn the zone into a convenient and entirely subordinate addition to their own system of production. Those who have voiced misgivings about the resumption of German productivity on so massive a scale may be reassured by the evident intention of the Soviet authorities to suck the last drop from the maimed and emasculated economic organism they have revivified. In view of the facts presented above it seems extremely likely that Soviet occupation of the Russian zone of Germany will be practically permanent.

ARMAMENT PLANTS ON GERMAN SOIL

This likelihood is enormously reinforced by a development in a different sphere, namely, the incontestable production of armaments, which received such wide publicity last August. The immense effort expended by the Russians during the war to remove their arms plants beyond the Urals has now been reversed. All their present reasons for carrying on production for reparations on German soil apply equally to the manufacture of arms. Moreover, extended as it is into Europe as far as Lower Austria and Thuringia, Russia could not expect its crippled transport system to make trans-Ural production available.

The report that V-2 rockets are now being manufactured in the great German underground factories at Nordhausen and Niedersachswerfen, east of Cassel, in so far as it is simply a demonstration that Russia, like the other great powers, is keeping up its military establishment, is not particularly significant. But the fact that this plant for arms production and experimentation is located in Germany and is being operated with German technical personnel suggests that once again the Soviets are thinking in terms of a prolonged occupation. Certainly they would never evacuate the area leaving a resuscitated German government in possession of a substantial war-making apparatus.

The Cross and the Circle

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Montreal, December 26

RECENT events in Canada point to the formation of a new and, it seems at first blush, curious political alliance between the Social Credit movement of Alberta, with its marked overtones of Protestant fundamentalism, and dissident elements among the French Canadian Catholics of the Province of Quebec. Curiously enough, anti-Semitism is one of the issues upon which this incipient alliance seems to be based. Before this year the Jews of Canada never thought that their detractors in Quebec—notably the remnants of Adrien Arcand's National Socialist Christian Party of the thirties—might possibly form a common front with the fanatical movement that had its rise in the cattle country of the West.

In the federal elections of 1945 neither the *Bloc Populaire* nor the Social Credit movement succeeded in electing any candidates in the Province of Quebec. But leaders of both parties noted that the combined vote of their nominees was sufficient in some constituencies to have elected one or more members of Parliament. As a result, shortly after the election a number of leaders of the *Bloc Populaire* visited Alberta to address Social Credit audiences. In a spirit of reciprocity, several Social Credit leaders, including a non-French-speak-

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ing Mormon, visited Quebec and addressed *Bloc Populaire* meetings. When a by-election was scheduled for the Pontiac constituency in Quebec this summer, neither the *Bloc Populaire* nor the Social Credit movement proposed candidates, but elements from both groups supported the nominee of a new movement, the *Union des Electeurs*. This organization was pointedly referred to as a "movement," not a party, with the accompanying explanation that the people of Quebec were against political parties in principle and wanted a movement without a formal policy or program—a movement, it was said, that would follow the mandates of the people as articulated from time to time. The nominee of the new organization, Raymond Caouette, proceeded to win the by-election in Pontiac. But once in Parliament, Caouette quickly announced that in general he would vote with his Social Credit colleagues from Alberta.

On December 23 the *Union des Electeurs* threw their candidate into the Richelieu-Verchères by-election. He was impressively beaten by the government candidate but managed to poll three times the vote of his Progressive Conservative opponent, whose party constitutes the official opposition in the federal Parliament.

An offshoot of this curious alliance—if it is, in fact, an alliance—is the newspaper *Vers Demain*, which has been published for about a year in the Province of Quebec. Copies are not available on the newsstands, and "non-Aryans" who send in $2 for a year's subscription have their checks returned, without comment. Today *Vers Demain* claims a paid-up circulation of 70,000. I was informed, however, that its actual circulation is probably not in excess of 35,000. What makes the appearence of this sheet a matter of some general interest is that it has been consistently anti-Semitic. For example, it has just concluded the serial publication of the good old "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." *Vers Demain* is the official organ of the *Union des Electeurs*, and in the official organ of Social Credit it is referred to as "our French-language publication."

Those familiar with the background of the Social Credit movement will not be surprised to learn of its anti-Semitic tinge. Its prophet, Major C. H. Douglas, in one of his early tracts, "The Control and Distribution of Production," wrote that he was impressed with the "curiously circumstantial evidence" which, to his thinking, seemed to confirm the authenticity of the Protocols. Years later, when the forged character of the documents had been established beyond question, Major Douglas wrote in "Social Credit" that the "authenticity of the document is of little importance; what is interesting about it is the fidelity with which the methods by which such enslavement [of the world—by Jews] might be brought about can be seen reflected in the facts of everyday experience." This was also the position of Father Coughlin. In common with many movements in Canada which have advocated new monetary systems to combat the power of "the international bankers," Social Credit propaganda has always had overtones of anti-Semitism, and the movement employs verbal and other symbols strikingly reminiscent of those which Philip La Follette made use of in Wisconsin. The principal symbol of Social Credit is the cross and the circle; members form it with their hands at public meetings.

One of the Social Credit members of Parliament, Norman Jacques, from northern Alberta, is an active, vocal, explicit anti-Semite. Last July 29 Jacques spoke at an anti-Semitic meeting in Chicago at which the chairman was Frederick Kister. Jacques has been praised by Gerald L. K. Smith as an "outstanding crusader against internationalism, communism, and Zionism," and has spread volumes of anti-Semitic material upon the records of the Canadian Parliament's deliberations. Samples of his tirades against Jews may be found in John Roy Carlson's new book, "The Plotters." Although they have been asked by the leaders of Canadian Jewry on numerous occasions to repudiate Jacques, officials of the Social Credit movement of Alberta have thus far declined to do so. Jacques, they reply, "is a sick man . . . he has heart disease . . . he may die any moment"; besides, Social Credit is a movement, not a party, and as such is unable to discipline its adherents. Yet the official organ of the movement has referred to the Nürnberg trials as "a brutal form of Jewish revenge," and has argued that the Allies should not "starve the Aryan people of Germany." I was told, in fact, that the main difference between Jaques and the other leaders of Social Credit is that he always refers to "Jewish international bankers," while his more reticent colleagues say "international bankers." Implicit in the Social Credit ideology is the distinction between "productive capital" and "predatory capital," a distinction which tends to turn into one between "Gentile" and "Jewish" capital.

Different as they are in religion and descent, the followers of the Social Credit movement in Alberta and of the *Bloc Populaire* in Quebec are alike in several respects. Both movements are conspicuously negative in character: they have been "against" nearly everything —Bretton Woods, UNRRA, the United Nations, the British, the Communists, the international bankers, the Jews, foreigners, and so on. *Thinking* in both movements is replaced by faith in a hodgepodge of nostrums. Both feed upon the discontents of the lower middle class. It is worth noting that the Catholic church has expressed no opposition to its members joining the Social Credit movement. A Social Credit–*Bloc Populaire* fusion is not essentially improbable, as witness the collaboration between Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith in the thirties. Given a period of economic depression and widespread despair, such a fusion might have great political consequences.

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The End of Tuberculosis?

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

WE FIND in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* of November 30, 1946, a paragraph which seems to announce the coming of one of the greatest victories of mankind. It says: "Streptomycin is an anti-bacterial agent which possesses the unique ability to inhibit the growth of Mycobacterium tuberculosis in vivo, both experimentally and clinically. The manifestations of tuberculosis may be suppressed both in experimental animals and in man, with at least temporary retardation of the pathological processes as judged by objective criteria."

This cautious statement is based on two years of treatment of one hundred patients with various types of tuberculosis in the Mayo Clinic, one of the world's outstanding scientific institutions. Drs. H. Corwin Hinshaw, William H. Feldman, and Karl H. Pfuetze had already been credited, in 1940, with being able to arrest experimental tuberculosis in guinea pigs by sulfa drugs (promin, diasone, promizole). But the clinical use of these drugs was not feasible. In 1944, after streptomycin was developed by Schatz, Bugie, and Waksman, it was tested by the newly perfected methods of the Mayo Clinic, and its superior therapeutic potentialities were recognized promptly.

Streptomycin has in recent weeks become available for civilians, but physicians need to acquire more experience with the drug before they can make full use of it. For the time being it is recommended only for those patients who do not respond to conventional therapeutic methods. Great amounts are required for the treatment of a case of tuberculosis. Toxic by-effects have been observed. The acquisition of artificial resistance to the drug is to be considered. But Dr. Hinshaw and his coworkers say, "Streptomycin is recommended for more extensive trial in treatment of many forms of tuberculosis because of definitely and consistently encouraging results."

In spite of the fully justified reservations of the Mayo physicians in regard to the immediate usefulness of streptomycin, the tremendously important fact remains that for the first time in history a drug has proved its efficacy against this scourge of man, and we can safely foresee the final extinction of the disease.

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Tuberculosis has been slowly but steadily declining in this country for several decades. Simultaneously with the exciting statement in the *Journal* of the A. M. A., the November issue of the *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company says: "Through a well-coordinated and vigorous attack it should be possible virtually to eliminate tuberculosis as a cause of death in our country within a generation." The death rate from the disease in the United States has been lowered four-fifths since the turn of the century—from about 200 to about 40 per 100,000. "In large areas of the country the tuberculosis problem has already been reduced to almost negligible proportions." In five states the death rate has dropped to well below 20 per 100,000: in Utah, where it is lowest, it is only 12. Forty-three states had a tuberculosis death rate under 50 in 1944; only twenty states were in this category in 1934.

There are various reasons for this brilliant success. Facilities for detecting existing cases in the early stages have multiplied. X-ray tests have become routine in health examinations, and periodic check-ups have become more frequent. Military-service examinations, too, have been of benefit. Fewer active cases diminish the chances of infection. Living conditions on the whole have improved, and hygienic and nutritional standards are higher. There has been progress in medical and nursing care, and the newly organized Tuberculosis Division of the United States Public Health Service has been doing much useful work.

However, tuberculosis is by no means stamped out. Even now it takes more than 50,000 lives a year in this country. Tuberculosis is still a serious cause of disability in the most productive years of men and women. It is the principal cause of death among white females between the ages of twenty and thirty-four, and ranks second only to accidents in white males from twenty to thirty-nine. More than one-fourth of all deaths among colored males in the broad age group of ten to thirty-four years are due to tuberculosis.

The ability to extinguish, within the next ten or twenty-five years, a smoldering flame so destructive to mankind can help revive our defeated faith in the human species. Tuberculosis is now rampant in many countries, especially in war-torn Europe. If we can break the power of this infection in America, we can break it everywhere —a truly heroic goal for the community of man. A life unburdened by such a cruel disease would be a better life whatever the political future of the world.

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Emily Greene Balch

BY JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

EMILY GREENE BALCH, who together with Dr. John R. Mott was on November 14 awarded the Nobel peace price, is the first graduate of the editorial staff of *The Nation* to receive that honor. During 1916-17 she was actively associated with Oswald Garrison Villard and other distinguished liberals in the Committee against Militarism, which carried on a vigorous campaign to prevent American entry into the war. She kept up her active opposition to the war, and in 1918 the trustees of Wellesley College, where she was professor of economics and social science, refused to renew her appointment. Despite her twenty-two years of distinguished teaching, the principle of academic tenure, already shaken by her progressive economic views, was not strong enough to withstand the war fever—though the decision was narrow and President Pendleton and all the alumnae trustees supported her. The Balch case was one of the outstanding violations of academic freedom during the First World War.

Mr. Villard, who had a high opinion of her scholarly attainments and of her accurate and discriminating judgment, seized the chance to add her to the editorial staff of *The Nation*. He and the group he had gathered about him were then at the height of their crusade for a just peace settlement that could be maintained. Miss Balch made especially valuable contributions to the International Relations Section, which was a keen weapon in this historic fight. She left *The Nation* in 1919 to take up her life work in Geneva with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In her association with the *Nation* group Miss Balch acted both as the ardent advocate of specific causes and as the informed expert bringing exact knowledge to bear on international issues. This double role was continued in her life-long devotion to the detailed problems of creating peace. In the peace movement she has been above all the practical and realistic scholar. She is conscious of the number of different channels through which men can cooperate and distrusts sweeping governmental action from the top. She has always found special promise in the international administration of matters of common interest—in various kinds of functional international "authorities" or trusteeships to deal with specific problems.

In disagreement with *The Nation* of 1919 Emily Balch was a supporter of the League of Nations. From the outset she felt that even enlightened public opinion must work through existing political organizations capable of dealing with concrete political issues. With all its limitations, the League was a going concern, an instrument for dealing with a multitude of international problems. In the course of these activities the League could develop habits of cooperation that might be extended to wider political relations. This experience of the League, she recognizes, has not been lost; and the opportunity of acquiring more is the greatest promise of the United Nations. "What is needed," she pointed out last November, "is exactly the sort of thing the Economic and Social Council and the UNESCO stand for—namely, human, tolerant, elastic cooperation in which the threat of war is as inappropriate as it is in any civilized undertaking. I hope we are not going to try a federal world state, but instead a complex interweaving of functional arrangements for common interests."

In company with a remarkable group of coworkers at the Geneva headquarters of the Women's International League, Emily Balch devoted much work to specific issues of international government, in close cooperation with experts in the League Secretariat and with many European statesmen of good-will. She planned many international congresses of women and helped organize conferences on drug control, the internationalization of aviation, and above all disarmament. She undertook some ten "peace missions" to investigate problems of international tension on the spot. Her most successful one, with Paul H. Douglas in 1926 to Haiti, undoubtedly helped to bring about the withdrawal of the American occupation forces.

The Nobel peace prize, while usually given to statesmen whose official position has made it not too difficult for them to work effectively for peace, has also been bestowed on representatives of those unofficial organizations whose work has prepared the ground for governmental action. In honoring Bertha von Suttner, Jane Addams, and Karl von Ossietzky the Nobel Committee has recognized how much private citizens can contribute to the conditions for international peace.

It is interesting to note that of the three women who have won the award, Jane Addams and Emily Balch, have chosen to work through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This organization grew out of the Congress of Women held at The Hague in

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1915—a group of pioneers in the movement for women's rights who tried to stop the war, and almost succeeded. It has through the years enlisted the support of eminent leaders among women—Jane Addams from America, Lida Gustava Heymann, Yella Hertzka, and Gertrud Baer from Central Europe, Gabrielle Duchêne and Mme Roland from France, Helena Swanwick and Catherine Marshall from England. Like Emily Balch, most of these woman have not been absolute pacifists. The Europeans have in the main been Socialists, opposed alike to war and to the social conditions that breed it. They naturally found themselves in the forefront of the fight against fascism. The prominent role played by the W. I. L. in the resistance movements, and especially in working out methods of non-violent opposition, was undoubtedly in the mind of the Nobel Committee in honoring its international president, Emily Balch.

Miss Balch is well fitted to be a symbol of the whole body of voluntary workers for peace throughout the world. Never the narrow partisan of a single method, she has always gladly cooperated with organizations of very different shades of opinion, convinced that all are needed in the work of constructing peace and that in a pluralistic and not too centralized movement they can learn much from one another. With her dry and kindly sense of humor, her modesty, her integrity of mind, and above all with that priceless quality of spiritual intensity and vision, she has won the respect of sincere workers for peace everywhere. And in her they have all received recognition.

Homeless America

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

III. A Workable Housing Program

THE government's policy in housing has been to have no policy. Each new emergency has spawned a new proposal; each proposal has had to be shaped to suit the more vocal pressures. Fifteen billion dollars of federal commitments for housing have brought forth a maze of laws, regulations, and pronouncements that have allayed public clamor for a time, raised hopes, and in the end left the housing problem unsolved.

In treating the problem again as an emergency we only set the stage for a new emergency and speed its arrival. Mounting sales prices threaten soon to start another epidemic of foreclosures. We are assured that houses will spring up as soon as materials are available, but none that are built will be within the reach of the rank and file. Homeless veterans are becoming unmanageable. The makeshift houses now being hastily put up to meet the immediate deficit of four million dwelling units will leave us with as painful a hangover as ever followed an orgy of jerry-building.

The only way the housing crisis can be met is through public building operations; yet this solution remains unmentioned and unmentionable. If local communities and the 800 local housing authorities were given the signal to build houses for veterans and others, land would quickly be purchased, mass production inaugurated, and labor used efficiently. Plans and specifications would be integrated, parts standardized. Materials would be purchased in bulk; the complete outputs of factories would be contracted for; millions of standardized parts would be turned out on mass order. Larger self-contained neighborhoods would replace the current mushroom developments. Instead of waiting for little builders to select small sites at random, then subserviently moving into the area with costly schools, streets, and utilities, the cities could plan their growth in advance, bring new neighborhoods into being where they should be. If speculative profit were eliminated, interest reduced to the going government rate, and the amortization period extended, homes could be built at prices within reach of veterans and others in the middle-income group.

What, then, holds us back? In the main it is the acceptance of the myth that the end of hostilities means the end of the public's right to build housing. From now on, according to the myth, we must revert to pre-war practices and depend for our houses on the two-by-four builder—anything else would be socialism. Yet if fifteen months after the war's end we can prosecute John L. Lewis and his union in an effort to stop the coal strike, why do not the government's war-time powers authorize it to build houses? What stops government from building for returning veterans as it did for war workers? It has long been acknowledged that the war powers may be employed for the period of reconstruction. We are using those powers in moving temporary houses, giving premium payments to materials manufacturers, and encouraging prefabrication. Yet any official who dared suggest home building by public agencies would be automatically classed as anti-capitalist.

CHARLES ABRAMS, former counsel to the New York City Housing Authority, is author of "The Future of Housing." This article is the last of a series on the housing problem in America.

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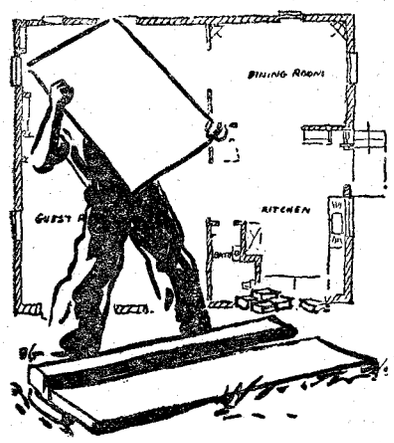
The question whether government intervention is socialist or capitalist in principle hinges upon three things: (1) whether the activity is affected with a broad general interest; (2) whether the government's action competes with private effort; (3) whether the intervention, if in fact competition, will be only temporary, as during the war or other emergency.



The provision of decent shelter at rents returning veterans can afford, like slum clearance and low-rent housing, has long been upheld as a public function. These activities do not compete with private effort, for the private builder will not undertake them. Even Adam Smith conceded it to be the proper function of government to build those public works "which could never repay the expense to the individual."

Judged by the most rigid criterion, namely, that it must benefit private enterprise rather than contribute to the general welfare, construction of houses by public agencies meets the test. In the building of homes the predominant private functions are not those exercised by the speculative builder but by the factories that supply the materials, the labor that puts them together, and the contractors and subcontractors who organize and superintend the work. The builder simply acquires the land and activates various private skills and agencies to create the finished product. His is usually a transient interest; his investment is small. In fact, under the arrangements set up by the Federal Housing Administration, home building has become a wholly publicly financed operation masquerading as private enterprise. If, instead of maintaining this fiction, public agencies hired the more competent builders to act as their agents, no participants in the industry would be displaced and the home buyer would get better value for his money. The stock attack on all public ventures is that they are not so efficient as private, but the private builder can hardly boast of his success. Local housing authorities, on the other hand, though they have been in existence only for a decade, must be credited with one of the best performances in the history of public operations.

A public building program would not preclude private home building for sale or rental. Some of the land assembled by a public agency could well be resold for private undertakings. Nor does public building preclude private ownership. Having built the houses, the public agency could dispose of them as the federal government has done with its war housing. The larger projects could be sold to mutual-ownership corporations, private investors, or the tenants themselves, with preference shown to veterans.

A public building program offers the only immediate remedy for the present housing crisis, but it is not a cure-all. Other reforms must be sought concurrently. Definite long-range plans should be formulated for the rebuilding of our cities as befits our wealth, energy, and culture. All urban slums should be cleared in fifteen years and good subsidized housing provided for the displaced occupants. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill is a start in this direction and should be passed without delay. Rural slums should also be cleared and rural houses repaired through federal aid.

Home ownership must be placed on a sound basis. Well-built homes in sound neighborhoods, properly financed and carrying low interest rates, would fortify the home-ownership investment. The owner rather than the lender must be protected against fortuitous defaults. A sound mortgage system must be devised. Though our whole economic system has been influenced by the unprecedented expansion of mortgage debt, no real effort has been made to analyze the system's impact or correct its defects. Federal supervision is essential. The current unconscionable interest rates on government-insured mortgages should be reduced. Obsolete mortgage laws should be revised, foreclosure costs lessened, cumbrous procedures eliminated, persecution of owners through deficiency judgments banned. Freer competition on mortgage loans should be established and lobbying by the government-insured lending institutions prohibited.

The present G. I. Bill of Rights should be replaced by a program meeting the needs of all veterans—the farmer and the city dweller, the Negro and the white man, the able and the disabled. The current arrangement is a vicious device enabling veterans to buy homes most of them cannot keep. Local authorities should build the houses with federal aid and without profit.

Only a politically irresponsible government will put the welfare of an industry that cannot fulfil its function in society above the welfare of the people. If circumstances make it impossible for private enterprise to supply some essential of life, it is the duty of government to intervene. When private enterprise again operates adequately, then and only then is it time for the government to withdraw.

During the war the government built not only housing, directly through private contractors, but plants for war industries. It took this action because it could do the job quicker and better than private enterprise. No one considered it a challenge to our way of life. Is the logic that dictates government building in a war emergency less forceful in a post-war emergency? The bottleneck in housing production is not the materials shortage but a misconception of the function of government.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Fighting for Tariffs

AMERICAN delegates to the recent preparatory conference of the International Trade Organization encountered a good deal of skepticism about the ability of the present Administration in Washington to implement its own proposals for the freeing of world trade. How far was the United States prepared to go, representatives of other countries were apt to ask, in lowering its own tariff walls? Was it willing to plan for a permanent import balance so as to permit foreign creditors to pay their debts to America and to continue buying American goods? It was not easy to provide reassuring answers to such questions; it has become still harder to do so since the elections and the remobilization of the protectionist storm troopers.

Although the tariff was in no sense involved in the elections, triumphant Republicans have been quick to claim a mandate to end the Administration's efforts to reduce tariff barriers the world over through negotiations authorized by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Senator Butler of Nebraska has written to Under Secretary of State William C. Clayton demanding a suspension of such negotiations until the Congress has "an opportunity to write a new foreign trade policy" to replace the "lame-duck" program of the government. Representative Daniel A. Reed, second ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, has drafted a bill which would deprive the President of the right to make new reciprocal agreements and call upon him to cancel all existing ones. Although it is highly improbable that such a measure could be passed over a Presidential veto, G. O. P. strategists may decide to proceed with it "for the record." If that accomplished nothing else, it would certainly hinder negotiations with other nations by underlining the unstable nature of American policy.

Meanwhile a heavy barrage of protests against lowered tariffs will be fired off at public hearings which the Interdepartmental Committee on Reciprocity is to open on January 13 in connection with negotiations with eighteen foreign countries scheduled for the spring. Early in November the government published a list of imports in regard to which tariff concessions would be considered, and invited interested parties to file briefs. The response, particularly from industries producing light consumers' goods, has been voluminous and violent. The underwear and knitgoods industry, for instance, is planning not only to resist a further reduction in duties but to demand restoration of the 50 per cent cut included in the 1939 trade agreement with Britain. In an interview with the *Journal of Commerce* Roy A. Cheney, president of the Underwear Institute, declared that they were faced with competition, not from individual British firms, but from the whole "Fascist-Socialist" government of Britain. Since underwear is definitely not on the British government's nationalization program, Mr. Cheney's complaint is as strange as his use of a popular Communist epithet. But it suggests that in presenting their case the high-tariff boys will rely as much on appeals to prejudice as on statistics. It was ever so.

The rayon industry, supposed to be an outstanding example of the efficiency and initiative of private enterprise, is another which will plead for higher tariffs. Its brief will stress the danger of Japanese and Italian "dumping" and the strategic importance of the domestic rayon production. It will point out also that the largest American rayon manufacturer was British-owned until sold to provide war funds. Now, it will be alleged, the British are out to destroy the asset they sold to American investors.

Predictions of ruin through the competition of cheap foreign labor will also be voiced by the cotton, woolen, leather, shoe, pottery, and other industries. Growers of wool, in addition to "preparing to resist to the utmost the reported efforts of the State Department to reduce existing wool duties," will seek quota limitation of imports, according to a story in the New York *Times*. In this endeavor they can count on support from Western Senators of both parties, to the embarrassment of the Administration, which has zealously preached the wickedness of quantitative restriction of imports to foreign countries. But the hardest blow to the government's program up to date is the recent attack on it from the traditionally low-tariff South. Secretaries of Agriculture in thirteen Southern states have announced the filing of briefs with the Reciprocity Committee prophesying that if the present trade-agreements program is implemented, farmers will see crops "rotting on the land" while the railroads carry "trainload after trainload" of foreign vegetables.

This Southern manifesto calls for "a truly reciprocal" policy permitting the exchange of American farm products for commodities "which are not natural to our soil nor suited to our climate." Coffee, tea, rubber, silk, sisal, jute, and bananas are instanced as beneficial imports, but no effort is made to explore the difficulties likely to be met in persuading Brazil, a large exporter of cotton, to swap its coffee for Texas cotton.

In any case, imports of non-competitive products, whether industrial or agricultural, will not provide other countries with enough dollars to enable them to buy the goods we want to sell and pay their debts. William K. Jackson, president of the National Chamber of Commerce, said recently:

> We have become the world's greatest creditor nation, and the only way we can ever hope to recover any substantial part of these credits is through the acceptance of the goods and raw materials that our debtor nations can send to us. . . . We cannot be impoverished by receiving back the equivalent of the goods or credits which we at some time sent away from our country. It is inevitable that some disadvantage will come to some industry or segment of our country, but with intelligent and sympathetic cooperation these disadvantages should prove negligible compared to the great good that will come to the greater number of our people.

Unfortunately, history proves all too plainly that in tariff matters the sum of sectional interests, multiplied by logrolling, is normally found by Congress to be greater than the national interest.

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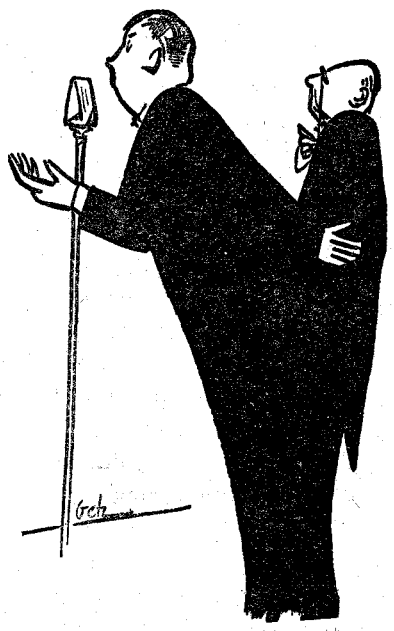
IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL



TEN years ago an experimental engineer named John Hogan was testing the acoustical range of a new method of high-fidelity broadcasting by playing recordings of classical music on his experimental station, W2XR, at the top end of the radio dial where the numbers run high. The average set at that time could not reach 1560 on the dial, but Mr. Hogan was flooded with mail asking for advance notice of the time when he was going to broadcast certain recorded classics. And radio repair men found that more and more people were bringing in their sets to have the dials reset so they could get W2XR.

Today some five hundred thousand people in and around New York City swear by WQXR, the station's present name, and thousands more in other parts of the country wonder why their community doesn't have a QXR. The reason for New York's singular good fortune is simply that the 10 per cent of the available audience who listen to WQXR in New York City and the vicinity amount to half a million people, enough to give the station a thumping financial success, whereas in no other community would 10 per cent of the available audience mean enough listeners to support a quality station. People in New York still want to know when their favorite music will be played, and 38,000 of them pay $1 a year for the monthly program booklet; 1,100 subscriptions to the booklet were ordered for Christmas gifts.

WQXR, now owned by the New York *Times*, is the quality radio station in the country. There the listener is king, not the advertiser. There every program, sustaining or commercial, that goes on the air is written and produced by the staff; none are written or produced by an advertiser. The basic material may be furnished by the advertiser, but that is all.

WQXR knows its listeners do not like singing commercials. But if an advertiser who wants to reach the WQXR audience with a jingle is willing to let WQXR revise the jingle, the station will go to work at it. Using only the tune of the famous, or infamous, Pepsi-Cola jingle, which has been dinned into the ears of listeners on almost every station, WQXR had it done on a pianoforte, giving it a music-box quality which listeners found pleasing. When the United Fruit Company wanted to air its familiar "Chiquita Banana" jingle over WQXR, the station dropped the lyric, orchestrated the melody to sound like something by Mozart, and used it as the signature to a quarter-hour of Latin American music.

WQXR has a continuity staff of seven writers to turn out the custom-written programs and commercials; many a 50,000-watt network affiliate operates with fewer writers. It has a studio orchestra of eleven musicians; most stations have no more than six and use them infrequently. Other stations have advisory committees, but WQXR consults a committee of 4,400 listeners, half of them taken from the subscription list for the program booklet and half from persons who have written to the station. Eight times a year the station asks them to give it a going over. Their only remuneration is an invitation to the concerts given expressly for them three times a year at Hunter College by the augmented station orchestra.

On election night the station scheduled twelve spots in that evening schedules for late election returns. Care was taken not to interrupt any selection and not to break into the mood of a program; and the election data were kept brief. The advisory committee, however, would have liked more breaks for election news, and that is what the audience will get next year.

Since the *Times* bought the station in 1944, the advertising standards have become even more stringent than before. Newscasts are no longer sold; the *Times* presents the news in short four-minute takes. The station figures that if an advertiser sponsors the news, there is liable to be pressure, perhaps only enough to make a news editor cut out an item he thinks the advertiser might not like. But even that is taboo.

The *Times* has also discarded commentators in the belief that every commentator has some bias, and that WQXR has not enough air time to present every point of view. Instead, the station uses the forum technique, with *Times* staff members as moderators; for a fillip the forums are broadcast each week from a different church, temple, service or women's club. In contrast to the newsrooms of most stations, which contain a news ticker, the daily papers, and an announcer with scissors doubling as newsman, the *Times* staffs the WQXR newsroom with nine editors and writers who get a copy of everything that comes in to the newspaper from its correspondents and thirty-odd news tickers.

As everyone knows, WQXR's long suit is its music, more than 50 per cent of which is classical, symphonic, opera, and chamber music, about 25 per cent the lighter classics, and about 2.5 per cent popular non-swing tunes. Newscasts take about 10 per cent of the schedule; there are no sports and only a minute amount of religious broadcasting; forums and children's, women's, and public-service programs add up to a little more than 5 per cent. With a fifty-fifty split between commercial and sustaining time, it is obvious why the "class" listening audience likes WQXR.

However, I received a postcard recently from a WQXR fan in St. Albans, Long Island, complaining that the station advertised brassières, girdles, and stock-market tips. This slight headache stems from the *Times* ownership of the station. Any firm that advertises in the paper, where the acceptance rules are truly rigid, is automatically acceptable to the station. The alleged stock-market tips are nothing more than the Babson Market Service, which advertises in the newspaper. The girdle advertiser is also a *Times* client, and the copy makes its points inoffensively. So well does WQXR know its audience that the postcard I received was the only complaint they had had about the commercials on that program.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

PHILOSOPHY: SPECULATION OR SCIENCE?

BY HANS REICHENBACH

IN THE usual conception, philosophy is the construction of a system. A philosophical system is a vast aggregate of ideas covering all domains of the physical and intellectual universe: it comprises a theory of knowledge, an interpretation of the fundamentals of science, an account of the structure of the cosmos, and, on the other hand, a set of directives for life derived from some superior rules of morals or religion. The German word *Weltanschauung* is perhaps the most characteristic term for such a comprehensive philosophy.

Looking with the eyes of the unprejudiced spectator, we see immediately that a philosophy of this kind is a strange mixture of two different objectives. One is of a cognitive nature, directed toward an understanding of matters of fact; the other is of a volitional nature and intended to supply a control of the emotional attitudes of man, including both his individual and his social behavior. This dual function of philosophy dates from ancient time. In Plato's dialogues Socrates repeatedly attempts to convince his opponents of the parallelism of knowledge and ethics, of the *true* and of the *good;* and the alternative true-false has been over and again considered the analogue of the alternative right-wrong. A somewhat closer study reveals that the emphasis on such duality was usually accompanied by a very definite practical purpose, the aim of protecting ethics from doubt, of making moral laws as certain as the laws of nature or even as the laws of logic. Spinoza's system of ethics, which in its form imitates Euclid's system of geometry, is perhaps the outstanding representative of a cognitive-valuational parallelism. Kant's philosophy repeats the same theme; his "Critique of Pure Reason" was written with the intention of establishing a basis for his "Critique of Practical Reason," and his synthetic a priori was meant to supply a rational ground both for knowledge and for morals.

Even without entering into a logical critique of such parallelism we observe one of its most conspicuous consequences—the fact that the theory of knowledge in such a philosophy is ultimately a means for an end and therefore not developed in its own right. It is not based on specialized studies; it indulges in extreme generalities, leaving detailed analysis to other disciplines. To construct generalities not based on analysis of details, however, means speculation; in fact, it is speculation as opposed to research that has distinguished philosophy from science. Science proceeds analytically; it studies the minute detail before it proceeds to generalization. The philosopher has attempted to replace minute analysis by intuition, and has believed that there exists a direct approach to ultimate truth or rightness that does not need scientific substantiation. Radical idealists like Schelling have based a claim of superiority on the evasion of scientific method. He calls science "blind and deprived of ideas" and insists that his philosophy trains "a new organ of vision and of the understanding of nature" capable of solving the problems which science has been unable to solve.

No wonder that the scientist felt disappointed by such philosophy, that he distrusted generalities not derived from the analysis of the detail. It is true that not all philosophers were as arrogant as Schelling and disdained the scientist; but their methods must appear pretentious to the men who compile long sets of observational data before they venture to formulate the simplest generality, and who control their inferential chains by the elaborate methods of mathematics. Helmholtz, one of those physicists whom science has led to philosophy, complains about "the impudence with which certain people who do not understand the smallest geometrical theorem judge about the most difficult problems of the theory of space, convinced of their superior wisdom." The nineteenth century has borne out the antagonism of scientists and philosophers. The high degree of technicalization to which science rose in that century has separated more strongly the scientist from the philosopher. As a result of such development, the science of our day is completely severed from philosophy. Seeing that the philosopher is unable to interpret scientific results and scientific method, the scientist has attempted to construct his own philosophy, which, though not always too successful, at least has helped him in the development of scientific theories.

The philosophical work of the scientist was taken up by a group of younger men who, trained not only in the history of philosophy but also in the mathematical sciences and mathematical logic, renounced an active participation in scientific discovery and concentrated on the elaboration of the philosophical implications of science. Disregarding the philosophical systems, they rather tried to bring into the open the philosophical undercurrents of the evolution of science, thus opening a new source which is feeding philosophy with a new content and new methods of work. The introduction of scientific method into philosophy found its first expression in the clarification of the program of philosophic investigation. The cognitive branch of philosophy was separated from the valuational branch and was made the objective of careful analysis carried through with the means of mathematical logic and undertaken without any intention of finding ethical implications.

One of the foremost results of such scientific philosophy is the clarification of the nature of a question. The adage that a fool can ask more than a wise man can answer finds its logical equivalent in the distinction between meaningful and meaningless questions. A question is meaningful only if

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it is so asked that before we can give the true answer we at least can tell how a possible answer would look. Thus to ask for the origin of the terrestrial globe is a reasonable question, because we can imagine an answer, for instance in the form of a theory according to which the earth was originally part of the sun and then detached by centrifugal forces; whether this answer is true remains to be found out by scientific investigation. But to ask for the origin of the universe is an unreasonable question; it is meaningless because we cannot say how a possible answer would look. Any answer would make the universe the product of some other occurence which in turn would have to be included in the universe and therefore could not be the source of the universe. A review of philosophical systems shows that many so-called philosophical questions are of the meaningless type. No wonder that a great many of the philosophical controversies are so empty and futile. The distinction between meaningful and meaningless questions is the scientific form of a criticism which common sense has always raised against philosophy. "Where concepts are missing, the word is right at hand," says Goethe. The term "metaphysics" is now often used, by its opponents, to indicate what they consider to be an empty brand of philosophy.

Not all philosophical questions are meaningless, however. Some have remained unanswered because their answer required a scientific technique which up to now had not been developed. The question of the origin of life, for instance, has found a new approach through Darwin's theory of evolution; and the near future may perhaps supply us with the proof that living cells may be constructed from inorganic matter. The question of the nature of space and time has found an answer in certain mathematical and physical discoveries, reaching a climax in Einstein's theory of relativity. We have learned to distinguish between mathematical space, a conceptual construction open to various geometrical forms, and physical space, which is part of the structure of the universe; and we know that space and time, in the physical sense, express some very general features of the physical world, such as are given in the behavior of solid bodies and light rays. Some of the answers thus supplied by science to philosophical questions have turned out to be surprising even to the scientist. Thus the question of the nature of cause and effect has found a negative answer, in that it has been shown that there exists no strict causality in the physical world, that the future is indeterminate, and that the dream of a predetermination of the future and of a possible strict prediction of future events must forever be abandoned. Only statistical predictions are possible.

The concept of probability which thus has received a legitimate place in the system of physics has likewise turned out to be indispensable for the solution of a problem which the history of philosophy had faced for about two hundred years without the hope of a solution—the problem of the inductive inference. This problem, which found its critic in David Hume, is now accessible to an answer based on probability notions; it turns out that the procedure of inductive knowledge is more closely related to the betting of the gambler than to the rationalized conception of knowledge which so far has been the basis of philosophic investigation.

In addition to answering old questions, the philosophy

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of science has learned to ask new questions of which the philosophical systems had never thought. That there is more between heaven and earth than was dreamed of in traditional philosophy has found a vivid demonstration in the results of modern quantum physics, according to which the elementary physical particles, when unobserved, behave in an irrational way, so that the world of unobserved objects cannot be constructed along the lines of macroscopic phenomena. The critique of the foundations of mathematics, furthermore, has led to the discovery of concepts incomprehensible to traditional logic. That the whole need not be larger than its part was shown in the theory of sets; that logic is not restricted to the alternative true-false but can be replaced by a multivalued logic, which possesses more than the two truth values of truth and falsehood, was shown in mathematical logic. One of these non-Aristotelian logics, a three-value system, has been used for the interpretation of quantum physics.

Scientific philosophy is on the march, and speculative philosophy is dying, though it still supplies the major material of our instruction in philosophy. The philosophy of the systems is dying because it has no connection with the work and the achievement of the scientist. If academic philosophy is so inefficient in the education of youth, if it has no influence on scientific pursuit, the reason is to be found in its adherence to outmoded forms, in its inability to turn away from speculative creations which, in their time, may have represented necessary forms of thought but which find no application in the age of a mature science. What does it help to teach the student of science the history of philosophy as a sequence of philosophical systems, to guide him through the philosophical museum of stuffed products of human imagination? He will learn philosophy only if it is taught in close contact with his scientific studies; if it helps him to understand the methods of his scientific work and the results of a science grown from the soil of experiment and observation. Philosophic systems will not be awakened from their paper lives if occasionally a new system becomes a literary fashion, such as existentialism in present-day France. Such injections with new verbalisms will not give new life to a dying form of philosophy.

The extension of scientific philosophy to the inclusion of the social sciences leads to great difficulties. One reason is that the social sciences are not so highly developed as the natural sciences, that they are too controversial in their methods and their results. Another reason is derived from the confusion of cognitive statements and volitional aims mentioned above. Social organization is a means to an end; but to what end it is to be adjusted cannot be found out by scientific methods because the question of the end is not of a cognitive nature. Purpose is man-made and is not derivable from the structure of the universe. We human beings set up the aims of our society; what we call a better world is a matter of volitional decision. If we stand for our decision, if we are willing to take upon us the trouble of the fight for a better world, we do so because we trust in human will. There is no such thing as "the good" in the sense of an object of knowledge. The distinction between good and bad is volitional; and to follow our decision requires confidence in our set of values but does not presuppose an adherence to cognitive truths.

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Only the *relation* between ends and means is of a cognitive nature. From the higher aim we derive the subordinate aim: that war is not good if we want the greatest happiness of the greatest number is demonstrable by cognitive means. Fortunately the volitional aims of human beings are not so very different, and a great deal of political controversy is therefore of a cognitive nature. Thus the question whether state ownership of the means of production should be demanded is of a cognitive nature for all those who pursue a democratic aim. That the answer is so difficult results from the fact that the science of sociology is still in its beginnings. But the philosopher should at least point out where cognitive relations exist, and what questions can be answered, in principle, by the social sciences.

Not all political controversies, however, can be settled by cognitive means. The proponents of the existence of a master race, for instance, cannot be shown by cognitive means to be wrong; they stand for a different aim. We do not wish to say that such aims should be tolerated, but we should know that we cannot convince our adversaries by something like logic. The different aims are represented by different social groups; which group will be victorious is a matter of social power. Our hope that the social struggle can be settled without resort to bombs and bullets is based on the fact that the majority of men prefer peaceful aims to the valuational system of the superman.

It would be a serious mistake to call upon philosophy to be a leader in the social struggle. Ethical decisions, the maturation of will, grow from the activities of life, not from the philosopher's study. We take our set of values from the sociological environment in which we live, and we shape our decisions under the pressure of the tension between social strata, of the discrepancies between religious morals and the exigencies of life, of our necessary adjustments in our personal struggle for existence. The philosopher can help such developments by the clarification which he contributes to the struggle. But even that social function he will acquire only when his philosophy of values is as close to social life as his philosophy of cognition should be with respect to scientific knowledge. The philosophy of speculation is as unsuited for such achievement as it is in the cognitive field. Social philosophy has its future in scientific method as much as does the philosophy of knowledge. If the academic philosopher does not realize this situation, if he insists on the claim that philosophy can supply us with a system of ultimate truths and ultimate values, academic philosophy will more and more lose contact with actual life and live on only in the isolation of the philosophy departments.

Philosophers never have been lawgivers, and even the present-day colleagues of Plato, I am afraid, will not become kings. But philosophers have been, and should be, educators; and philosophic clarification of thought should help to shape the face of society in a world of industry and class movements. The path to a functional incorporation in modern civilization is open only to a philosophy which is willing to appropriate scientific methods for philosophic pursuit. Between speculation and science there is no third; the philosopher has to make up his mind, and his choice will determine whether there will be a philosophy that is an active ingredient of intellectual life.

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Neurosis and Lucidity

THE KAFKA PROBLEM. Edited by Angel Flores. New Directions. $5.

"WHAT has modern literature to set beside this?" André Gide is reported to have asked at a Picasso exhibition in Paris in 1932. He was referring to the distortions, arbitrary forms, free constructions, and general departure from naturalism that are the familiar and triumphant feature of all painting we know as truly modern. His interlocutor, had he been alert, might have answered that in Franz Kafka literature had at last caught up with painting in these particular qualities of modernism. In these bold innovations in technique, his distortions, free construction, and illogical logicality, Kafka has perhaps more to offer the future novelist in the way of going beyond naturalism than any of his great contemporaries.

And perhaps it is this very novelty of his art that is chiefly responsible for the babel of critical voices we get in this not very distinguished collection of essays. Chiefly, but not altogether; for when George Woodcock declares Rex Warner to be superior to Kafka, or when Max Lerner speaks of a "wild subjectivism" in Kafka, who is, moreover, "God-drunk," or when Edwin Berry Burgum refers to "so disordered a talent," or—but why go on? The point is that we are back again in that vast modern army of whim and wilfulness that marches under the challenging banner of "Anything Goes." Such lapses aside, however, in a good many of the contributions to this book we might almost be present at a confusion of critics before the early showings of Matisse, Picasso, Klee, Miro, eagerly jostling each other and aggressively asking, "But what does it *mean?*"

The quick leap past the literary work to get at its meaning is precisely the great critical temptation in the case of Kafka. Two contributors, Camus and Magny, are enough aware of this to begin by announcing that they approach Kafka's writings as constructions with their own internal characteristics as literature—though perhaps neither holds to this point of view rigorously enough. But if Kafka's work becomes merely a hurdle to be taken quickly for the meaning beyond it, the critic usually comes a cropper in one or another of two ditches on the other side: a very muddy ditch, the excessively theological interpretation; or a ditch whose water is much too insipidly thin, the exclusively or mechanically social interpretation. Max Brod, his friend and editor, who strove to see Kafka in the pattern of his own pietistic Judaism, has already made us familiar with this first interpretation, but in the present volume the most extreme and vigorous representative of the theological critics is John Kelly, who would see Kafka grounded as firmly in the rigid and elaborate "theology of crisis" of Karl Barth as Dante was in scholastic theology and philosophy! If Kafka did not read Barth, this does not seem to bother Kelly, for he proceeds to equate Barth with Kierkegaard, whom we know Kafka did read. No notice is taken of Kafka's own statement that neither Judaism nor Christianity was the door by which he entered or left existence. Kafka, we remember, began to read Kierkegaard for the parallel between their broken-off engagements. The very comparison between Kierkegaard and scholastic theology only serves to show how little the critic has grasped the meaning of this philosopher, the very movement of whose thought is against system, and in a certain sense against philosophy itself, and whose philosophical contribution might be summed up under his own half-jesting title, "Philosophical Scraps."

No doubt Kafka was a religious writer, but in a sense far subtler than Brod or Kelly recognizes: in the sense of consecration with which he approached the act of writing; and in his unblinking gaze at certain absolutes of existence, guilt, and loneliness he was confronting those experiences with which religions have traditionally attempted to cope by other means, by more or less elaborate systems of belief.

If Brod and Kelly are ready to receive Kafka into the fold of Zionism or Geneva, Mr. Burgum, on the other hand, is definitely the commissar purging Kafka as a proto-fascist, disordered mind and diseased personality. It might be better to pass over such an exhibition in silence, were it not that Burgum's is no isolated mind but a representative of the barbarous mentality of Stalinism which now threatens the few tattered shreds of civilization remaining in the world.

But though his critics do not hesitate to load Kafka with much more theological, metaphysical, and social baggage than the traffic can bear, there seems nevertheless to be a concerted shying away from any application of Freud to the data of Kafka's life or writings. Only Paul Landsberg in the present volume makes a legitimate use of Freud in interpreting "The Metamorphosis" as a liberation from an obsession, and rightly finds therein added reason for praising Kafka. Rudolf Vasata blithely states that Max Brod is quite right in refusing a psychoanalytic interpretation of Kafka's relation to his father—as if anyone, much less Kafka, could so easily escape his father! The applicability of Freud to him and his works, far from being a necessary diminution of his stature, may actually witness his real depth and universality. The strains of neurosis are in us all, and the fact that in those lucid hallucinations which are the stories of Kafka some of the deepest compulsions of human beings are expressed, and to that extent liberated, only renders mankind the more his debtor. What, after all, has the modern writer become but that outcast who is appointed to suffer *lucidly* for the rest of humanity?

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Drama

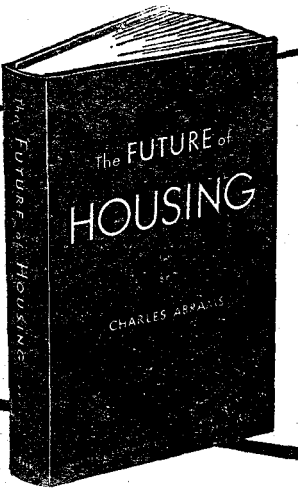
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IT HAS often been objected by the more serious-minded that Shaw's prefaces make his plays unnecessary. In the case of "Androcles and the Lion" he outdid even himself, for never before has a mountain of earnestness brought forth a friskier mouse. Perhaps the best way to take the play is to forget the intolerable burden of preliminary lucubrations and to accept it for what it is—a joyously irresponsible little farce entirely appropriate to the Christmas season, when even adults traditionally attempt, with greater or less success, a return to a happier childish world. That at least seems to be the mood in which the American Repertory Theater has approached the current production at the International Theater. The lion should be readily understood by a generation raised on Disney, and the big scene is made that in which two quite entrancing bullocks created by Remo Bufano ponderously pull the cart bringing Androcles's old friend to the arena where Androcles himself is awaiting martyrdom. The moral—which is chiefly that the early Christians, like the early members of every revolutionary movement, seem to their conventional contemporaries inspired by nothing except tiresome bad taste—is left clear enough, but is reduced, as Shaw himself reduced it as soon as the preface was finished, to little more than incidental importance in a divertissement which is primarily a way of leading up to the always satisfactory conclusion "and they lived happily ever after."

It has long seemed to me that those who struggle to resolve the paradoxes of Shaw tend to overlook, because it is so obvious, one of the most important keys—which is simply that this big bad diabolist is, as a matter of fact, so kindly and so soft-hearted that he has always found it impossible to summon sufficient implacability to write a play in which anything irreconcilably evil puts in even a temporary appearance. He blusters mightily about, for example, the Battle of the Sexes, Nietzscheism, and the Revolution. But the battle of the sexes, instead of being as in Strindberg a war of extermination, becomes merely a pleasant little sham contest in which both sides win; Nietzscheism becomes, similarly, merely an earnest determination to improve from which all ruthlessness has disappeared; and revolution turns out to be nothing except the process of voting the rascals out. He never writes tragedy, because in tragedy someone has to get hurt; and it may even be that the absence of heart which has so often been complained of means merely that he cannot bear to create a character endowed with the organ which makes a certain kind of suffering possible.

If this is true, then "Androcles" is merely the most obvious of all the examples. The preface may treat persecution as the cruel and bloody thing which historically it was, but when the play comes to be written the author cannot bring himself to create the actual image of anything so painful. Nor is it merely that the martyrs are saved and the Romans themselves rendered likable. The very emperor himself, for all that he is presiding over a butchery, is made into a fairy-tale ogre who wouldn't hurt a flea. Obviously the author is the same man who, according to a recent newspaper story, sent an insulting letter to a chapter of the League of Woman Voters which had asked him to autograph a book for sale. A curmudgeon would, of course have simply thrown the request into the wastepaper basket. Shaw instead plays the role expected of him and contributes a characteristic screed which, as he well knows, will sell for a great deal more than a simple autograph while at the same time it enables him to stay in character.

And has it ever been noticed, I wonder, that few if any other modern writers of repute are so completely free in their personality as well as in the characters they create from any touch of what we call—and tend to praise as—the "neurotic." That was part of the stock in trade of his immediate predecessor, Ibsen, whose originality was in no small measure connected with his exploitation of the irrational components in human character. It becomes



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almost the whole of Strindberg, and it is at least a *sine qua non* of most of the intellectually fashionable writers from Doestoevski through Joyce to Kafka. Yet Shaw and also Shaw's characters tend to seem—perhaps, indeed, are—not fully human because they are all so harmless, so well adjusted, and, fundamentally, so serenely optimistic in temperament no matter what opinions they profess to hold.

As a whole the present production is perhaps the most thoroughly satisfactory which the American Repertory Company has offered. Visually it is very nearly perfect and a sheer delight. Almost as much can be said for the Androcles of Ernest Truex and a great deal, if not quite so much, for Philip Bourneuf's interpretation of the role of the emperor and for Victor Jory's Ferrovius. Undoubtedly, on the other hand, something more could have been made of parts less minor than they seem in certain performances, but the general spirit of gaiety is so well maintained that it does not matter too much. Sean O'Casey's "Pound on Demand," used as a curtain-raiser, is so excessively trivial a skit that I almost forgot to mention it.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IN MARCH, 1945, I published the important news of Victor's imminent resumption of production of a number of the important recordings that it had placed on the inactive list for the duration of the war. It was planning to do this because after more than two years of the Petrillo ban it had almost exhausted its reserve of new recordings; and the plan was dropped when the capitulation to Petrillo enabled the companies to resume recording, and all available plant, labor, and materials were devoted to pressing copies of the new recordings by the big-name, big-sale people.

Things like the Glyndebourne recordings of Mozart's operas therefore continued to be scarce; and recently there was a rumor that Victor intended not to resume pressing the European recordings at all, but only to import HMV copies, which are much more expensive. This rumor appeared to be confirmed by the HMV copies of scarce items that suddenly appeared in almost every shop window. I therefore made inquiries—one to Victor itself, which brought me the assurance that the rumor was false and that Victor would, at a time which it could not be definite about, resume production of its pre-war catalogue.

My other inquiry went to a dealer, who wrote that he suspected the rumor originated with the large shops which specialize in importing records from England. As far as he knew Victor had given no indication of planning to stop pressing from its European masters; on the contrary, "within the past year a large number of 'connoisseurs' " items were restored to the catalogue and actually pressed and delivered in limited quantities for the first time in five years." These included Mozart operas, Bach's B minor Mass, and Budapest and Busch Quartet performances; and the new-style labels and albums indicated that the sets were not from past surplus but from new production.

He also gave me the encouraging news that in recent months "as much as three-quarters of our Victor shipments have been older items many of which have long been out of stock. Columbia, on the other hand, has emphasized new releases (and rotten ones at that) at the expense of older numbers. A few months ago Columbia sent out a special fall production list devoted mainly to things which dealers were already heavily stocked on. I understand the howl was pretty loud; and in the past two weeks Columbia has been turning up with newly pressed items such as Beecham's London Symphony, Gieseking's Mozart and Beethoven recordings, the Szigeti-Flesch Bach, etc. Quantities are not large yet, but they are the first influx in five years of some of the best things in the Columbia catalogue."

And finally he added some information about the *new* European recordings that some of us have been wondering about. Here again commitments to the big-name performers whom Victor and Columbia have under contract, combined with insufficient production facilities, stand in the way. "From fairly reliable sources I gather that Victor does not plan to issue any of the new British releases, except Beecham's, until their domestic artist relations are settled down. I was told that Victor definitely hopes to put out things like the French 'Pelléas,' the Italian operas, and British moderns as soon as it catches up on catalogue production. But Columbia shows no inclination to use any of the very fine things, especially chamber music, issued lately in England."

I might interrupt at this point to mention that when I inquired at Columbia a year ago whether there was any plan for rehabilitating fine recordings—like the one of Mozart's Concerto K. 491—that had deteriorated, I was told that the company's policy was to remake such recordings with the artists it had under contract. I mention this because it is part of the picture my dealer friend gives of the consequences of Columbia's "subservient artist policy," as he calls it. Thus, "Columbia has been going through the throes, apparently, of renewing the Kostelanetz-Pons contract, and its releases have been fouled up with that junk. This, plus a weirdly mistaken notion that Oscar Levant is a pianist, just about precluded the release of any first-rate Columbias for weeks. The Serkin and Lehmann records, when they have arrived, have been pitifully short in quantity."

I have the impression that Victor's artist policy has caused its releases to be fouled up with as much junk as Columbia's. And while American production facilities are devoted largely to junk, HMV is sending over its pressings of the good things—of which the English are consequently deprived—in order to get the needed dollar exchange.

On Victor's list of these importations I note the recording of Bach's "Goldberg Variations" that Landowska made in Europe a number of years ago, which is vastly superior to her new Victor recording—a finer performance on a finer-sounding harpsichord, and better recorded—and well worth the higher price. I note also the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals performance of Haydn's Trio in G Major, on two 10-inch records. But not, I notice, their performances of the Beethoven Opus 97 and Schubert's Opus 99. Is that in order not to lose Victor even a few sales of the inferior Rubinstein-Heifets-Fuermann performances? And that reminds me to ask why Victor has never released its own recording of the Fuermann-Rupp performance of the two Beethoven sets of variations on Mozart's themes, which I know from test pressings to be two of the most marvelous ensemble performances ever put on records.

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Letters to the Editors

The Laski Trial

Dear Sirs: I attended the recent trial in the action brought by Harold Laski against the *Newark Advertiser and South Notts Gazette,* and it occurs to me that readers of *The Nation* might be interested in an account of the whole episode as it appeared to one observer. I shall try to set down the facts objectively, though my sympathies, political and personal, are frankly with Mr. Laski.

The incident which led to the suit occurred during the campaign preceding the General Election, when Mr. Laski spoke at Newark on June 12, 1945, for the Labor candidate, Air Vice-Marshal de Crespigny. The meeting was out of doors, in the market square, and it was a big enthusiastic one. About 1,500 people were there and no interruption occurred until the end. Just as the meeting was breaking up, a man stepped forward in the crowd and asked Mr. Laski two questions: Why had he evaded military service in the First World War, and why had he advocated violent revolution during the second? He quoted from two speeches, allegedly made in 1943, from the "Tory Speakers Handbook" issued for the election. Laski replied that the first accusation was untrue. He said that a Tory M. P., who had made the charge, had later offered him an unqualified open apology in the House of Commons. As to the second, Laski repudiated that in equally strong terms. What he had said, he told his questioner, was that unless serious popular grievances were remedied by legal means, 1789 and 1917 showed the danger of the people taking matters in their own hands and of a consequent drift to violence and revolution.

The events that followed suggested an interesting behind-the-scenes collaboration. On the Monday after the meeting the editor of the *Daily Herald* called Laski on the telephone, saying that a man named Carlton had written to the Nottingham *Guardian* of that day to the effect that he had been at the meeting and had been shocked to hear that the chairman of the Labor Party had said if "the party could not get its measures by fair means, they would get them by violent revolution." The editor also said that Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* was going to splash the story next day; and, sure enough, most of its front page next day was full of it. It was played up much the way the Zinoviev letter was in 1924, and the savings-bank scare in 1931. Laski then took out writs for libel against these papers, the letter-writer, the Newark *Advertiser,* and the London *Evening Standard,* which repeated, in worse form, what Beaverbrook's morning paper had said. The whole maneuver followed, and was clearly intended to support, Churchill's outrageous charge about a "Socialist Gestapo." By bringing suit Laski put a stop to these libelous tactics in the right-wing press for the duration of the campaign.

The trial began on November 26 this year before the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury. The defendants requested this, as a special jury consists of people who pay rates of more than £100 a year. Laski's counsel had asked to have all the actions tried together, since he thought it could be shown that a carefully organized conspiracy for election purposes had been organized. The Chief Justice refused this and granted the plea of the defendants to have the action against the Newark *Advertiser* tried first, though it was the last in point of time. Laski was cross-examined for two hours by the defense in an endeavor to show (1) that he had said he was in favor of revolution at the meeting, (2) that all his books preached the desirability of making a revolution in Britain, and (3) that he was generally an offensive character, disowned by the Labor Party. Ten witnesses, including the Air Vice-Marshal, swore that the plaintiff had never said the words attributed to him in the report. It was shown that the Newark *Advertiser's* own reporter had no such words in his shorthand report and, at the order of his editor, had put in the words written down by the questioner, a Tory journalist who writes for the *Express,* from recollection, hours after the meeting. They had one witness who thought he heard Laski speak the words and one who said that he mentioned revolution. Laski's counsel, in a brilliant closing speech, showed how the opposing counsel had torn words out of their context, and pointed up the astonishing fact that the editor of the accused newspaper had replaced his own shorthand reporter's account with a version fixed up by a professional Tory propagandist.

The judge summed up in a speech which sounded very correct but showed he was against Laski from the start. He never mentioned the alteration of the report or the relation of the questioner to the Tory candidate. He never discussed the evidence of Laski's witnesses. He told the jury that violence and revolution had clearly been mentioned. He referred them to Laski's writings, which had been quoted by the defense without their context, and said that the words used at the meeting, while not sufficient to sustain an imputation of treason, were certainly capable of suggesting that Laski was a man who made seditious writings and incited others to disorder. He then told the jury they must decide whether the report was true and accurate. The jury, after deliberating for forty minutes, found for the defendant with costs. This means that Laski will somehow have to meet costs in the neighborhood of twenty thousand pounds—an almost unheard-of amount.

Everyone I have talked to thinks the decision outrageous. Within a week hundreds of Labor supporters have sent money to a defense fund which Morgan Phillips, the secretary of the Labor Party, has opened to help Laski cover the costs. It is quite possible, however, that he will have to sell his house and the library he has spent his life building up.

The judge was once a Tory candidate, and apparently the jury agreed with his pretty obvious intention to hit the Labor Party through Laski in revenge for the Tory defeat in 1945. Special juries have been doing this kind of thing ever since the French Revo-

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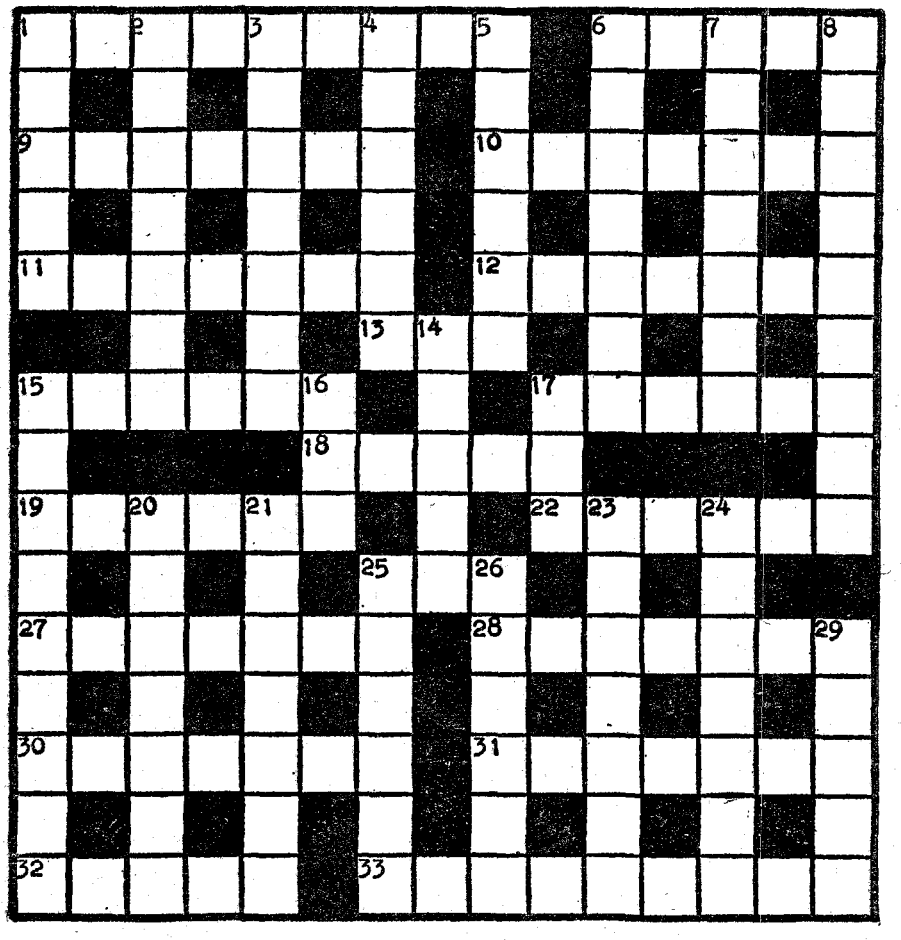
Crossword Puzzle No. 193

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Game formerly known as "shuttlecock and battledore"
6 OGPU's predecessor
9 The logic of Aristotle
10 Where the French beast devours the German
11 It is spread to catch fish and crooks
12 Where law ends this begins, according to Pitt
13 In short, send out succor
15 Is sued for failure to find work
17 You may call Beatrice this, if you know her well
18 Played its part in old defense and modern attack
19 Sprite in the guise of a clergyman
22 Eat
25 A destructive insect
27 Don't ask for this in this famous New York store
28 Only way you can recall an oath
30 Rabbits whose ears stick out at right-angles
31 The bomber is its natural enemy
32 We all have a hand in it at some time
33 Gained her? But for loss of civil rights

DOWN

1 Made some beer for the children?
2 Erroneously supposed to be the time when canines are specially liable to rabies
3 Spells or turns
4 Ten set in principles
5 "But me -- ----," as Fielding said (2 and 4)
6 A Minister of Supply
7 No longer night or day then
8 A light gas
14 Turkish dynast
15 Two vowel-sounds pronounced as one
16 Yaffle
17 --- yourself first, then call in God, was Euripides advice
20 It's hell, that's what it is
21 Seaside resort in Dorset, England
23 Zulu spear
24 Fret over Ted
25 Haggard heroine
26 Seat vacated in favor of a spider, in the nursery rhyme
29 More than underdone

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 192

ACROSS:—1 DUMBSHOW; 5 PUTS UP; 10 CURRENT; 11 PARTING; 12 EXACTS; 14 LEGATION; 16 INJURED; 17 HALMA; 18 WHEN; 20 ERUPTED; 22 IDOL; 24 REVEL; 26 SECULAR; 29 ADDENDUM; 30 LEVITE; 32 OCARINA; 33 DAILIES; 34 NUDIST; 35 MEETINGS.

DOWN:—1 DOCKED; 2 MARIANA; 3 SEEDTIME; 4 OATH; 6 UNREAD; 7 SWINISH; 8 PAGANINI; 9 UPPER; 13 SNARLED; 14 LUMP SUM; 15 GENERAL; 19 RIGADOON; 21 DERELICT; 23 OLD HAND; 25 ELISION; 26 SNAILS; 27 CUBAN; 28 LENSES; 31 ADZE.

lution. But the sum of this particular verdict is that it was the pay-off for a Tory plot that failed to come off in 1945. ARCHIBALD MCIVOR

London, December 12

[American friends of Harold Laski who would like to help defray the costs of the trial may send subscriptions to Morgan Phillips, treasurer of the Laski Fund, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1. Checks drawn on American banks are now negotiable in the United Kingdom.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Wants Crane Documents

Dear Sirs: I am at present engaged in writing a thesis for the Sorbonne on Stephen Crane and the beginnings of realism in the American novel. May I ask any person possessing documents hitherto unpublished bearing on this subject kindly to communicate with me as soon as possible? I make the same appeal for material on W. H. Hudson. My New York address is: International House, 500 Riverside Drive.

GEORGES REMORDS

Paris, November 22

A German Peace Movement

Dear Sirs: Only a few people in the United States know that there has always existed in Germany a decent peace movement which tried very hard before World War II to convince and educate the German people that war is inconsistent with culture and civilization.

It will be of interest to all friends of the courageous German anti-militarists to learn that a respectable minority in Germany are trying again to organize a German peace movement to educate and influence the German people against any future rearmament and war. According to reports which have reached this country only lately, these people are in most urgent need of encouragement. I think it is in the interest of a future enduring peace to assist them. That is the reason why I appeal for encouragement to them. I know Americans with practical common sense will want to send parcels and letters to these anti-militarists. In this way we serve the next generation.

I shall be only too glad to let all those who want to answer my appeal have the addresses of worthy anti-militarists. VEIT VALENTIN

Library of Congress

Washington, December 1

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